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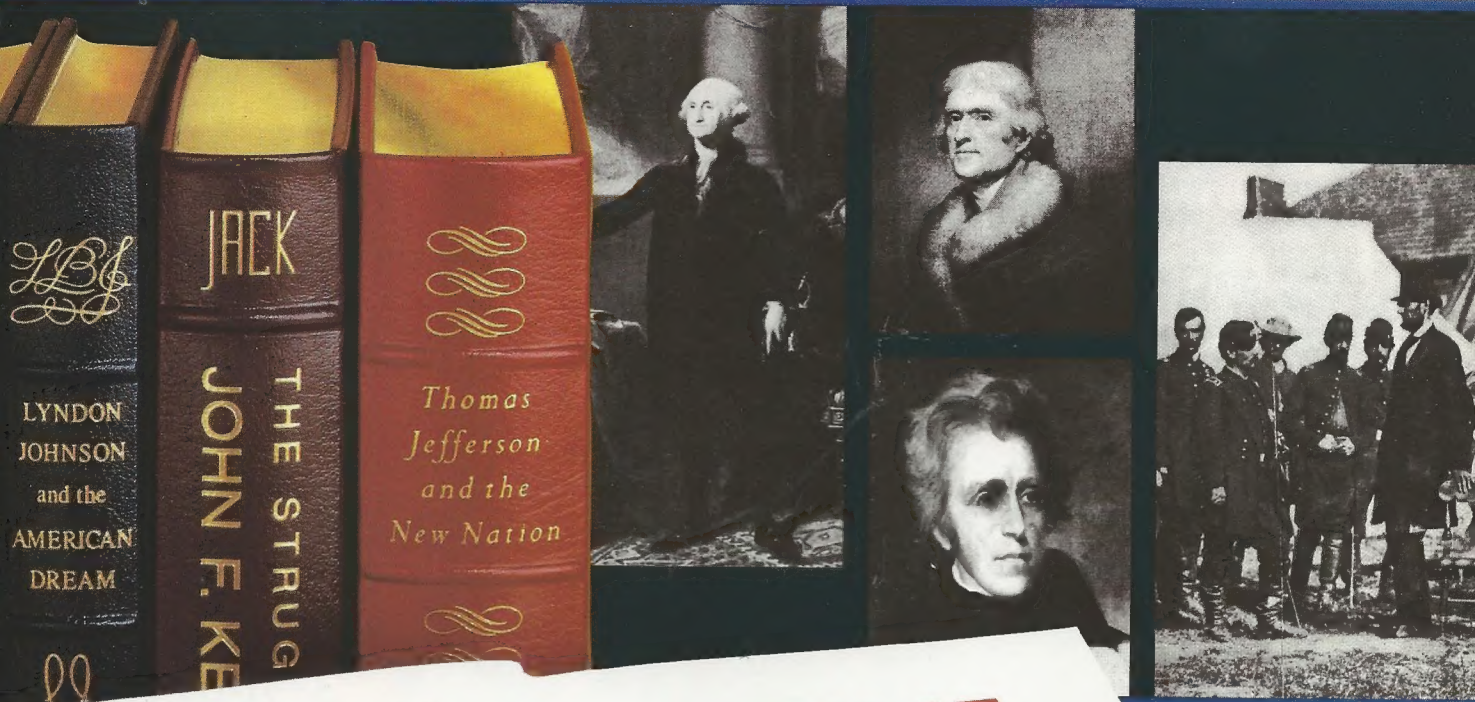
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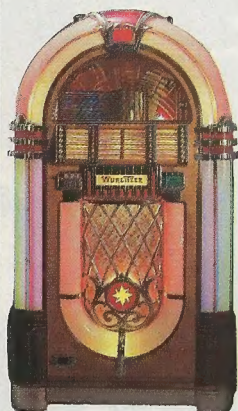
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COVER

When Americans think of classic jukeboxes, they conjure up visions of the Wurlitzer Model 1015, the most popular of all coin-operated record players during the “golden age” of jukeboxes just before and after World War II. The Wurlitzer Company manufactured more than fifty thousand Model 1015s during 1946-47; those that still survive are the most sought-after prizes in a thriving jukebox collectors’ market. For an article on these icons of popular culture on their one-hundredth anniversary, turn to page 44.

COVER PHOTOGRAPH BY KAZUHIRO
TSURUTA. COPYRIGHT © 1989 BY
VINCENT LYNCH

FEATURES

22 George Washington, Espionage Chief

As Continental Army commander, George Washington made extensive—and effective—use of spies and espionage techniques during the Revolutionary War.
by Walter R. Haefele

28 Benjamin Church: Son of Liberty, Tory Spy

As revolution brewed, British General Thomas Gage learned the decisions of American rebel leaders almost as soon as they made them. The patriots knew there was an intelligence leak—but who was the traitor? *by Margaret G. Stoler*

36 The Church Cryptogram: To Catch a Tory Spy

Through an improbable chain of circumstances in 1775, General George Washington obtained a mysterious three-page letter written in cipher—leading to the first enemy spy unmasked during the Revolution. *by Michael L. Peterson*

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One hundred years after the first “nickel-in-the-slot” machine captured America’s fancy, coin-operated record players are enjoying renewed popularity.
by Joseph Gustaitis

50 Clara Barton: Founder of the American Red Cross

Opposition and turmoil haunted this tireless, driven humanitarian who drew inspiration for her life work from Civil War battlefields. *by Cathleen Schurr*

66 Christmas Seals: “Stamping” Out Tuberculosis

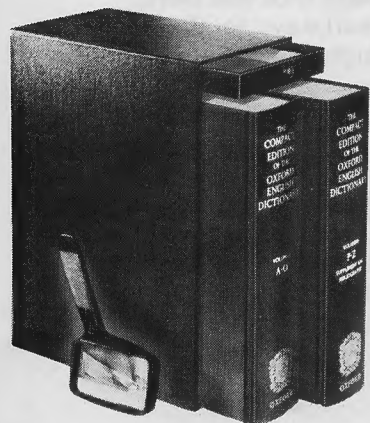
A woman’s 1907 efforts to raise funds for a small tuberculosis sanatorium grew into an American Christmas tradition. *by Kathleen Doyle*

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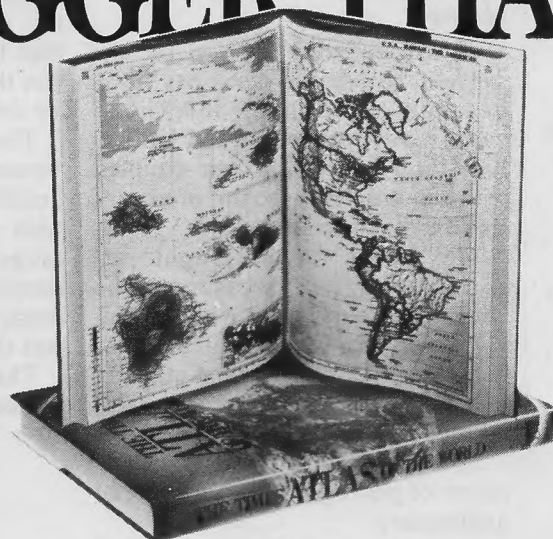
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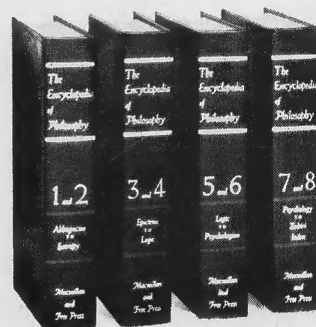
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MAILBOX

Splendid Photography Issue

I wish to congratulate you for the splendid [September/October 1989] issue you devoted to the 150th anniversary of photography. Ed Holm's lucid and interesting text coupled with a handsome selection of images made the issue a lovely one.

The nation's photographic archives are special treasures. The "mysterious power" that Holm wrote about is, in fact, still alive for those of us involved in maintaining historic photography collections and for all our patrons.

Thank you for a fine commemoration of photography's very special anniversary.

Barbara D. Hall
Pictorial Collections
Hagley Museum and Library
Wilmington, Delaware

Fond World's Fair Memories

When my parents took us children to the 1939 New York World's Fair [Summer 1989 issue], I was just fourteen years old. We traveled by auto all day to get to New York City from our home in Washington, D.C., and stayed for five days. It was the only vacation our family ever took together and was the most exciting time of my young life. What I saw at the fair undoubtedly has caused me, at least in part, to be the kind of person I am today.

We saw highways stacked one on top of the other so that cars could go in all directions without stopping! We saw autos attached to conveyor belts allowing the passengers to sleep or eat as their cars hurried on to their destinations.

We saw the 1939 kitchen contrasted with the kitchen of the future. To this day, I look for inventions, improvements, and gadgetry—not necessarily for their labor-saving assistance but because they represent something that is still exciting to me.

We saw television! I was afraid of the process but not so frightened that I didn't want to take part. I was the only one of my family to be televised then and there.

The walkways to the pavilions wound higher and higher around the buildings, and my imagination went with the walks. We stayed on the fairgrounds all day long, and I remember eating blueberry pie à la mode at Toffenetti's. To me the fair was the à la mode of my young life.

Thank you for your most interesting magazine.

Miriam G. Rothchild
Silver Spring, Maryland

Astronauts Courageous

I can't imagine what kind of courage it would take to get into a spaceship—let alone step out onto the moon ["Footprints on the Moon," Summer 1989 issue]! Mr. Aldrin's interesting admission in the final sentence of the article lets us see that these astronauts weren't "fearless spacemen," but real people with feelings. Their study of outer space is paralleled by my recent studies of "inner space" with author Vernon Howard. Once when discussing fear, courage, and daring in a class, he simply said: "To know more, dare more." Because self-discovery is as much of an adventure as space-discovery, daring is important to us all.

Mrs. Desi Arnaz, Jr.
Boulder City, Nevada

Johnstown Flood Account

After reading Edward Oxford's "The Johnstown Flood" [May 1989 issue] and rereading Peggy Robbins's "An Avalanche of Death" in the February 1973 issue, one has a very complete account of the destruction of Johnstown and the other villages along the Little Conemaugh and Stony Creek rivers. Of

Continued on page 8

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little consequence is the question as to whether the South Fork telegraph office actually was able to convey a warning message to the people downriver.

Stanley C. Beck
Alpena, Michigan

Flood Storyteller

The May story of the Johnstown flood was a truly class effort in presenting both the facts and the feel of that disaster. The story could have been written by the lad who was trapped in some wreckage and washed away but managed to survive. He thought that so miraculous that he dedicated the rest of his life to telling the story of the Johnstown flood to warn people of dangers, both physical and spiritual. And he did so for many years until he died and went to Heaven.

There he was greeted by Saint Peter, welcomed and registered, and briefed on the local customs. One was that each newcomer was allowed to do one thing he or she particularly wished to do right after arrival. Our lad said that he would like to tell everybody about the Johnstown flood. Peter said: "Right. We'll muster all the souls in the Elysian Field tomorrow and they'll be all yours."

So, next morning our lad was about to step up onto the speaker's platform when Saint Peter tugged at his coat tail. "Oh," he said, "I forgot to tell you that Noah is in the audience."

Roy Smith
Captain, U.S. Navy (Retired)
Annapolis, Maryland

Mounties and Flying Boats

[I enjoyed your] interesting article on the Northwest Paper Company's "Mountie" advertising campaign ["Maintaining the Right," March issue]. Your mention that the Mountie uniform was designed to accentuate Canada's British heritage is only partly right. The other reason was to make the uniform as distinctive as possible as a matter of ex-

pressing national sovereignty. Canada was filling up with immigrants who could not be expected to fully understand Canadian laws and customs in the frontier environment. The appearance of a Mountie in his distinctive uniform was to be a forceful reminder that you were in Canada and were expected to obey Canada's laws.

Regarding the Pan American Clipper flying boats in the May issue ["Bridging the Atlantic"]: considering the many problems we now have with overcrowding around the airports of the nation's largest cities, it is a shame the idea was not continued down to the present day. The ability to land a couple of miles off the coast and taxi into a harbor, allowing service from downtown facilities, would have solved many problems faced by travelers in the crowded skies today.

Keep up the good work with your fine magazine.

Seth M. Vose III
Brookline, Massachusetts

Another Presidential Decision

I appreciated the special issue on the American presidency [April], but would like to suggest that at least one more "Decision that Shaped America" be included. I refer to the purchase of Alaska—over determined opposition by a hostile Congress—and the annexation of Midway Island, by President Andrew Johnson.

Consider for a moment our plight during the Cold War had Alaska been in the hands of Russia, to say nothing of the incalculable value of gold, oil, fish, lumber, seals, and other products of this great state.

Consider also the value of Midway Island during World War II; the turning point of the war was the Battle of Midway. Didn't these two acquisitions shape our destiny? Why are historians so reluctant to recognize the singular achievements and sacrifices of Andrew Johnson?

Presidential authority Clinton Rossiter rates Andrew Johnson as one of our near-great presidents.

Most other historians choose to either ignore or denigrate him. Rossiter considered Johnson's greatest contribution and destiny-shaper to be that president's determined stand against the effort of a corrupt Congress to usurp power from the executive branch.

Harry B. Roberts
Greeneville, Tennessee

James Buchanan Underrated?

The editorial staff can be justifiably proud of the April 1989 issue on the presidency.

However, Professor Peri E. Arnold, in "Fifteen Presidential Decisions That Shaped America," lambasts James Buchanan for his policies on the eve of the Civil War. This is not surprising, for the public perception of the sole Pennsylvanian and bachelor to serve in the highest office is gloomy, indeed. Buchanan is generally regarded as an incompetent, timidly fumbling and spineless leader whose lack of courage, woeful confusion, and even treasonable acts led to the Civil War and almost destroyed the Union during his lame duck period.

But in truth, Buchanan entered the presidency with sound credentials. Not only did he win honor in both Houses of Congress, but also served ably as secretary of state and minister to Great Britain and Russia.

During the interregnum, his top priority was to resolve the seething sectional dispute without resorting to war. Although his efforts proved unsuccessful, to blame him for their failure is "bunk."

Buchanan's general program and strategy were sound. Of first importance was his determination to avoid initiating a war. He would take no provocative action and apply force only to repel a military assault on the government. And he would keep the door open to compromise [with the South]. No one could say with certainty that war was inevitable and that compromise was not worthwhile. If war was inevitable, it

Continued on page 16

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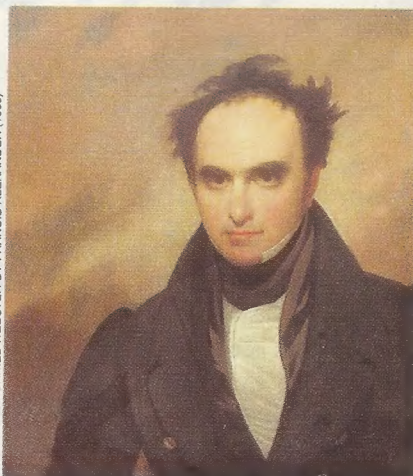
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AMERICAN GALLERY

Portraits of the American Law

Commemorating the bicentennial of the federal judiciary act of 1789 that established the American court system, this exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, D.C., features portraits of forty-five distinguished American judges, legal scholars, and courtroom lawyers. Prominent jurists represented in the show include such charismatic figures as Chief Justice John Marshall, statesman Daniel Webster, and legendary lawyer Clarence Darrow. Among related documents, artifacts, and artworks are the minutes of the Supreme Court's first session in 1790, Oliver Wendell Holmes's lunch pail, and genre paintings depicting the law at work in America. Many of the portraits and objects are on loan from the Harvard Law School and are here shown outside Cambridge, Massachusetts for the first time. The exhibition runs through January 15, 1990.



PORTRAIT OF DANIEL WEBSTER BY FRANCIS ALEXANDER (1835)

Treasures of American Folk Art

Nearly two hundred eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth-century American folk art objects from the collection of the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center comprise this exhibition at the National

Museum of American Art in Washington D.C., on display from November 22 to February 19, 1990. A broad range of media mirroring everyday American life is represented, including toys, furniture, quilts, carvings, portraits, landscapes, pottery, and shop signs.

Lafayette, Hero of Two Worlds: The Art and Pageantry of His Farewell Tour of America, 1824-1825

The Marquis de Lafayette, beloved French hero of the American Revolution, returned to the United States for a triumphal tour in 1824-25 at the invitation of the president and Congress. Feted by hundreds of thousands of Americans, Lafayette was the object of many commemorative souvenirs, ranging from fans to dishware to wine. About two hundred of these items concentrating on his tour and highlighting aspects of his life comprise this traveling exhibition on view at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Harrisburg through January 21, 1990.

Frederick Edwin Church

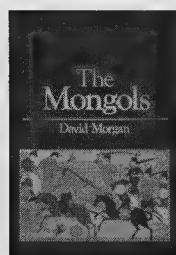
Presented for the first time as a group, forty-nine large-scale easel paintings by Frederick Edwin Church (1826-1900) are featured at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., through January 28, 1990. Masterpieces in the show by the widely-traveled landscape artist include *Niagara* (1857), *The Icebergs* (1861), *Niagara Falls, from the American Side* (1867), and *Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives* (1877). The exhibition centerpiece, *Heart of the Andes*, is displayed alone in deep side panels, echoing its 1859 New York City debut and giving viewers the impression that they are gazing out a window at the Andes. ★

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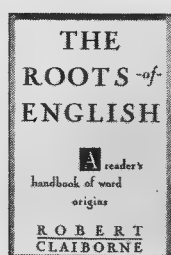
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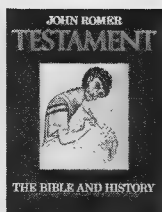
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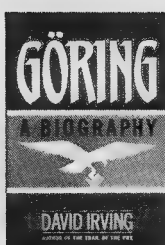
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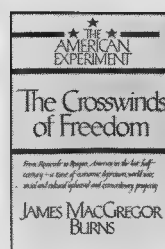
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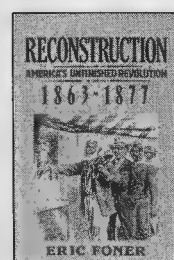
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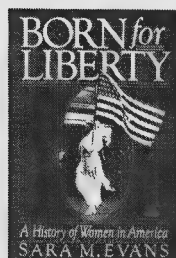
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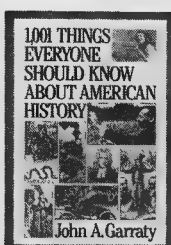
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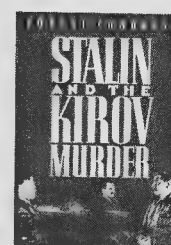


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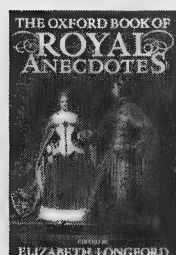
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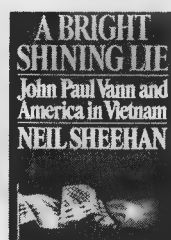
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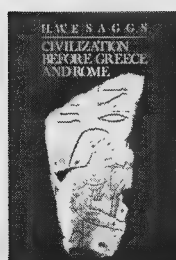
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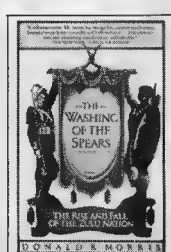
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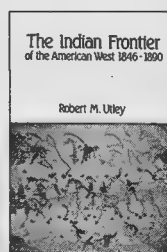
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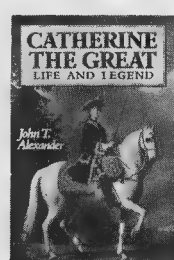
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AMERICAN LANDMARKS

Baseball Hall of Fame

Cooperstown, New York—the hamlet where Abner Doubleday may or may not have invented the game of baseball in 1839—has become a mecca for fans of America's national pastime.

By HAROLD HOLZER

Fifty years ago this past summer baseball's aging immortals gathered for the first time in the unlikely mecca of Cooperstown, a sleepy lakeside village in upstate New York, to dedicate a brand-new hall of fame for the national pastime.

Only one disappointment marred the celebration. The perennially cantankerous Ty Cobb, one of the Hall's first inductees, had such difficulty finding his way to the isolated hamlet that he missed the ceremony. That's why the photograph of the game's early greats posing at the opening doesn't include the man who hit for the highest average in history.

Today, all roads in our collective baseball memory lead to Cooperstown. Physical access, on the other hand, hasn't much improved. In fact, an entire team—the Cincinnati Reds—failed to show up for this year's festivities, after foul weather forced them to cancel plans to fly into one of the region's small airports.

Under the circumstances, what's remarkable is that those Americans who regard baseball almost as a reli-

gion, and its stars as veritable gods, manage to make their way to Cooperstown: at least three hundred thousand of them, each and every year, a number likely to swell now that the National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum added a large new wing in 1989 to mark its golden anniversary.

The reason the Hall was founded in this remote outpost is simple enough. According to a cherished and enduring sports legend, Abner Doubleday "invented" the game in Cooperstown, in farmer Elihu Phinney's fields, only a block-and-a-half from where the Hall of Fame would be built one hundred years later.

Today, an exquisite little ballpark seating ten thousand (four times Cooperstown's population) encases the former pasture like a jewelry box, keeping its history alive. Every summer, teams battle on this hallowed ground the day after annual induction ceremonies usher in new Hall of Famers. The absent Reds were invited with the Boston Red Sox this year to honor the newest honorees, alumni Johnny Bench and Carl Yastrzemski. As it turned out, the Red Sox played an intrasquad game. Fans watching veterans Jim Rice and Wade Boggs, or perhaps the gifted youngster Ellis Burks, surely wondered which

among them, if any, would someday return here to join sport's most exclusive fraternity. For the Hall of Fame has beckoned only 2 percent of the ten thousand men who have played the game.

How the Hall of Fame came to exist here is probably as attributable to clever public relations and selective research as it is to the Doubleday legend. Around 1900 sportswriter Henry Chadwick insisted that baseball owed its rules to the old English game of rounders. He was probably right. But, reluctant to concede America's game to the British, baseball pioneer A.G. Spalding proposed a blue-ribbon committee to decide the matter. For three years the panel investigated. And when it heard the testimony of an old man who recalled seeing West Pointer Doubleday marking out the first diamond with a stick, the committee melted. It pronounced that "the first scheme for playing baseball, according to the best evidence to date, was designed by Abner Doubleday at Cooperstown, N.Y. in 1839."

There the issue rested until the 1930s, when Cooperstown philanthropist and future baseball commissioner Ford Frick proposed marking the game's centennial by

Continued on page 72

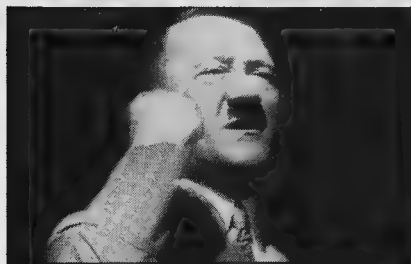


WORLD WAR II

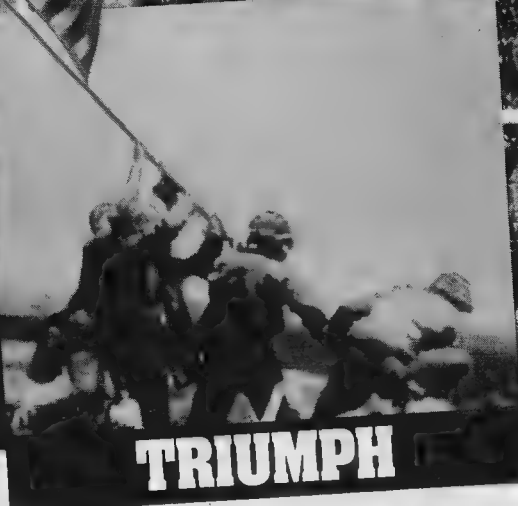
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was because of the refusal of Lincoln and the Republicans to make any sacrifices for the Union or from a harsh and aggressive act of secessionists.

Lincoln and his party rejected the Crittenden Compromise [that protected slavery south of the old Missouri Compromise line westward to California while prohibiting it north of that line]. Even with this sanction, however, it is doubtful that slavery would have moved there; climate and soil had closed the western territories forever to slavery.

When this compromise failed, Buchanan unsuccessfully worked to bring about a national convention to resolve the difficulties.

Why didn't Buchanan resort to force? He could find no constitutional authority for stopping the South with guns. Further, the Union had only a small, widely-scattered army of 15,000 men. Besides, Northern public opinion didn't support resorting to arms. Buchanan was keenly aware that such action would shatter all prospects of adjusting problems that still appeared reconcilable.

Yes, Buchanan did have a policy—to prevent a war, through compromise and conciliation. It is foolish and unfair to presume that because his sincere efforts to prevent the costly conflagration were unsuccessful, he should be characterized as timid and traitorous.

Martin D. Tullai
Lutherville, Maryland

The editors welcome comments from our readers. While we endeavor to publish a representative sampling of this correspondence, we regret that limited space prevents us from printing every letter. Publication of reader comments does not necessarily imply editorial endorsement of the views expressed. Address correspondence to Mailbox, American History Illustrated, Box 8200, Harrisburg, PA 17105. ★

PRESIDENTIAL TRIVIA PUZZLES

Thomas Jefferson

ACROSS

1. He was born in _____ Virginia on April 13, 1743.
5. He was elected President in 1801 to replace the deceased John Adams.
9. Among his many other activities he was a successful _____ and _____.
14. Jefferson spoke in languages, among them, _____ and _____.
17. He served as _____ under John Adams.
23. While designing the Louisiana Purchase he was accused of a crime of _____.
25. He was the first President to have a _____.
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1. He was born in _____ Virginia on April 13, 1743.
2. He was elected President in 1801 to replace the deceased John Adams.
3. Among his many other activities he was a successful _____ and _____.
4. Jefferson spoke in languages, among them, _____ and _____.
5. He served as _____ under John Adams.
6. While designing the Louisiana Purchase he was accused of a crime of _____.
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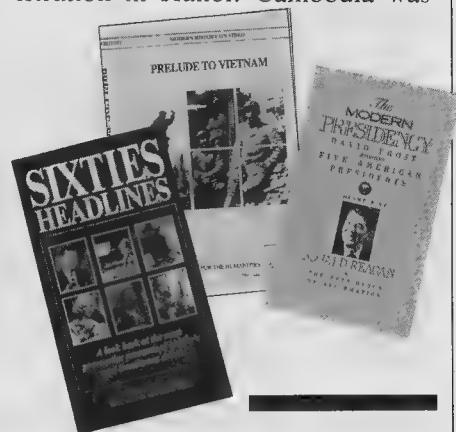
quences. The film concludes with a review of current American naval aviation.

Varied Directions, Inc., 69 Elm Street, Camden, Maine 04843, 800-888-5236; VHS or Beta, 60 minutes, \$29.95.

Prelude to Vietnam

While most programs on Vietnam concentrate on American involvement in that country after the 1954 fall of Dien Bien Phu, this outstanding "Modern History on Video" feature provides extensive colonial background on Indochina from the 1700s to the critical Dien Bien Phu battle. The French story there, appropriately told with French archival footage, is a tale of colonial imperialism. Today, viewers learn,

there is no true Indochina; the largest segment of the population there during the French colonial era was Vietnamese, descended from mainland China; Cambodia traces its population primarily to India. From 1873 to the turn of the century, France maintained colonial administration in Hanoi. Cambodia was



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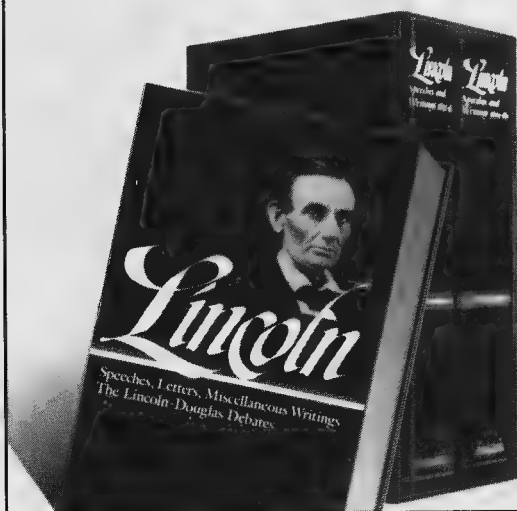
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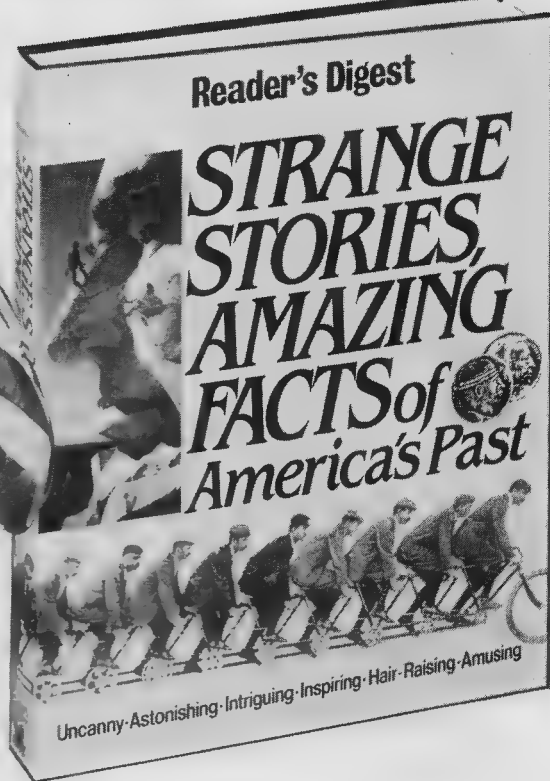


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already a French protectorate; Laos was peacefully annexed. By 1915 Japanese forces had moved into the area, and the French could not maintain their dominance. When the May 1954 ceasefire was signed, Vietnam was divided into north (Communist) and south. The final French detachment abandoned Saigon in 1956; the burden of halting Ho Chi Minh's Communist forces then fell to America, which first sent money and equipment, and finally armed troops.

Films for the Humanities, Box 2053, Princeton, New Jersey 08543, 800-257-5126 or 609-452-1128 in New Jersey; VHS, 60 minutes, \$29.95; call for pricing of educational packages.

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Fusion Video, 17214 S. Oak Park Avenue, Tinley Park, Illinois 60477, 800-338-7710; VHS, 30 minutes, \$14.95.

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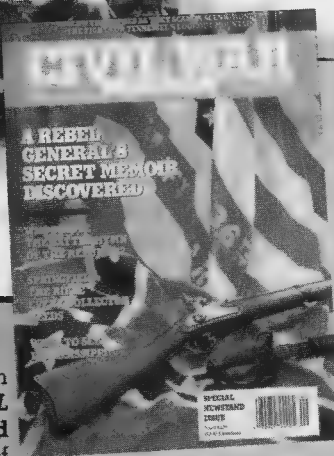
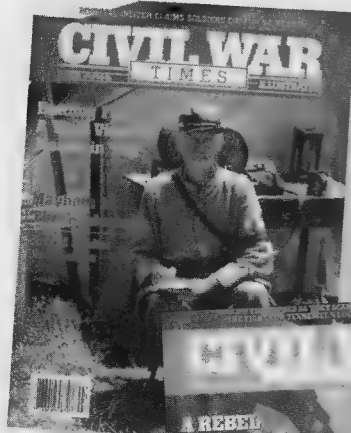
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HISTORY TODAY

Cabot/Dedalo Sails Home

August 5 ceremonies in New Orleans greeted the former Independence-class aircraft carrier USS *Cabot* back to the United States after more than two decades of service with the Spanish Navy. Launched in 1943 as a U.S. Navy warship, the *Cabot* was transferred to the Spanish fleet in 1967 and renamed SNS *Dedalo*.

The 610-foot-long *Dedalo*, whose crew on her final transatlantic voyage included 350 Spanish sailors and seven American veterans who had sailed aboard her during World War II, was decommissioned by Spain and returned to New Orleans where she will become a naval museum focusing on Spanish, Hispanic, and military history.

The Spanish gift is the end result of Louisiana businessman Denver Mullican's master's thesis describing the economic impact of military museums on cities such as Mobile, Alabama; New York; and Baltimore. While searching for a ship similar to Mobile's USS *Alabama*, Mullican learned that the Spanish Navy was decommissioning *Dedalo*. New Orleans's Hispanic heritage (it was a Spanish colony between 1763 and 1803) was a deciding factor in Spain's selecting that city among several competing cities.

The third-oldest still-active warship in the world at the time of her decommissioning, *Cabot/Dedalo*'s history covers service with the U.S. Navy in World War II and Korea, and more than twenty years of anti-submarine patrols with the Spanish fleet. She is now in dry dock for repair and renovation prior to her planned January 1990 opening as a museum ship.

Steamer Sultana Memorialized

A monument honoring the memory of at least 1,800 men, women, and children who died when the Mississippi River steamer *Sultana* ex-

ploded north of Memphis, Tennessee on April 27, 1865, was erected during a May 28, 1989 ceremony at Elmwood Cemetery in Memphis.

The steamer, transporting recently released Union prisoners among others, held some 2,400 people



when her boilers exploded; her authorized capacity was 376 passengers and crew. The tragedy claimed the highest number of lives lost in a maritime disaster until the *Titanic* sank.

Overshadowed by reports of Abraham Lincoln's assassination, the disaster received little publicity despite its gravity. Although few of the many victims are actually buried at Elmwood Cemetery, the individuals who paid for the monument felt the tragedy deserved special attention.

FDR Library Enters Second Half-Century

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, the first of eight presidential libraries, was established fifty years ago this October. The National Archives facility adjacent to Roosevelt's Hyde Park home features a museum section with the president's study, artifacts, and exhibits highlighting the lives and careers of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt. More than 15 million pages of documents, including FDR's 15,000-volume personal library, and pictorial collections, are on hand. Foundation of the now-thriving presidential library system, it opened to the public presidential papers that had often been available only to a few scholars approved by presidential heirs. ★

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GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON ESPIONAGE CHIEF

By WALTER R. HAEFELE

General George Washington's espionage system was a major factor in the Americans winning the Revolutionary War. Whether the commander of the Continental Army chose to fight or run, knowledge of British military strengths and movements was of crucial importance. Much of this information could be obtained only through the use of secret agents. On a number of occasions the possession of intelligence regarding enemy intentions tipped the scales to victory for the chronically outnumbered American forces. Deception also served Washington as an effective weapon, when on occasion he used his spy system in reverse to send misleading information to his opponents.

The American espionage system was primitive at first because Washington and his staff had little experience in covert operations. Fighting Indians in the woods during the French and Indian War had hardly prepared the Americans for spying on the British. But by 1777 Washington had smoothly functioning spy rings in Philadelphia, and from 1778 to the war's end several espionage groups were transmitting invaluable intelligence to him

from New York City, site of the British headquarters. Within three years after the war began, Washington and his staff were employing spies, double agents, secret inks, and code books—all still basic intelligence techniques today.

Secrecy is paramount when running an intelligence operation, and Washington was especially careful to avoid betraying his agents. Today no Revolutionary War era secret files or day books about American espionage activities, such as those the British kept in New York during the war, exist to identify Washington's spies and agents. To gather information about American intelligence activities, historians have studied spies' memoirs, incomplete expense accounts kept by Washington and his subordinates, and secret agents' letters that Washington and his staff copied. Spies destroyed letters that Washington wrote to them, but, fortunately for posterity, Washington saved facsimiles. Nevertheless, some of Washington's agents remain anonymous to this day.

Washington kept careful records of the government money he spent during the war. Of his total expenditures of \$160,000, about \$17,000—a great deal of

Continental Army commander George Washington may have used his brass spyglass to view enemy positions at the December 26, 1776 battle of Trenton—as painted here by John Trumbull—but his most useful intelligence regarding enemy strengths, movements, and intentions during this and many other Revolutionary War campaigns was obtained by spies operating behind enemy lines. Washington understood the necessity for an espionage system, and a number of American victories were due at least in part to effective use of the intelligence network he created.



Although Washington had little prior experience with military intelligence, during the first years of the Revolution he and his generals were able to set up several useful spy rings and began employing secret inks, ciphers, and other basic espionage techniques.



PAINTING BY MEAD SCHAEFFER

money in those days—was spent for “reconnaissance.” He paid his spies in cash, using bags of coins financier Robert Morris provided. These expenses increased rapidly as the war continued. For example, in 1777 Washington paid Nathaniel Sackett, who ran a spy ring in New Jersey and conducted counterespionage activities, \$500 for expenses and \$50 a month. But most secret agents served without pay and, for obvious reasons, without recognition.

Early Experiences

In Boston during 1775 and early 1776, many patriots, including Paul Revere, were active amateur spies and saboteurs. They slipped through British lines in row boats, or sailed around them in their fishing boats, bringing Washington intelligence from within the British-occupied city. Washington welcomed the information but, still being inexperienced and unable to properly evaluate it, hesitated to act on it. Fortunately, no major action was needed in Boston at that time. After the Continental forces seized Dorchester Heights above Boston,

their subsequent bombardments from there forced the British to leave the city in March 1776.

Early on, spying was a matter of finding an intelligent volunteer to send behind British lines. Captain Nathan Hale was a tragic example of this naïve policy. After the British landed on Long Island in late summer 1776 and soundly defeated the Continental Army there, Washington had to withdraw his troops to Manhattan. While his army regrouped, Washington needed to know British intentions and troop dispositions.

During an open meeting of his military unit, Hale, a twenty-one-year-old Yale graduate, volunteered to spy. He traveled to Long Island and behind the British lines without a cover name, money, contacts, or a safe house that might shelter him. He had no secret way to send back his observations and drawings, so that on September 21 the British caught him carrying in his shoe drawings and other intelligence information. The British hanged Hale, without a trial, in front of their artillery park near the Dove Tavern that stood near today's inter-

section of 66th Street and Third Avenue.

Appalled by the poorly-executed mission, Washington became almost fanatically secretive after Hale's death. The American commander grew convinced of the need to organize a “secret service.” His officers were sworn to eternal secrecy, which is why many spies' identities remained unknown long after the war. Washington was well aware of the consequences of defeat or of his headquarters being overrun by the British. If records about his spies fell into British hands, the patriots would die on the gallows. Further, even a peace treaty might not end Tory reprisals against his wartime secret agents.

On July 26, 1777, Washington wrote to Colonel Elias Dayton, one of his intelligence officers, “The necessity of procuring good intelligence is apparent and need not be further urged. All that remains for me to add is, that you keep the whole matter as secret as possible. For upon Secrecy, Success depends in most enterprises of the kind, and for want of it, they are generally defeated. . . .”

Soon after the Hale fiasco, Washington had several spy masters and intelligence networks in operation. In addition to other duties, Colonel Elias Boudinot headed espionage in northern New Jersey, while Major Generals Israel Putnam and William Heath supervised the spies around New York. Nathaniel Sackett, a civilian, had a separate espionage network in Perth Amboy and New Brunswick, New Jersey. Washington ordered Major General Thomas Mifflin to establish one in Philadelphia.

Intelligence Success at Philadelphia

Mifflin's spy system started to deliver a few months later, after the Continental Army had to abandon Philadelphia and the British occupied it. By December 1776, Washington was headquartered at Valley Forge with his army confronting the British on an arc around Philadelphia.

Major John Clark, a brilliant intelligence officer who took over Mifflin's Philadelphia network, had among his informers there merchants, gentry, and a man aboard

the British fleet, as well as old ladies, farmers, and tradesmen who passed through the city. Day and night Clark was on the move contacting his agents, who delivered a constant stream of information. His spy ring became so efficient that within a few hours after the battle of Germantown in October 1777 he was able to report the number of British casualties. Other officers operated separate Philadelphia spy networks, and Washington personally directed some secret agents there.

Lydia Darragh, a Quaker housewife who had a son in the American army, lived on Second Street in Philadelphia, directly across from British headquarters. According to a tradition passed down by Lydia's descendants, her husband William wrote on bits of paper intelligence information she secured. She placed them in buttons, covered them with cloth, sewed them on her young son's coat, and sent him out through the British lines. The teen-ager sought out his brother, Lieutenant Charles Darragh, and soon the information was in Washington's hands.

After the British army usurped part of her house for conferences, Lydia listened one night through the wall of an adjacent closet. When she heard the British planning a December 4-5, 1777 surprise attack on a weak spot in Washington's lines at Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania, she used her British pass to walk through their lines to buy flour out in the country—and to warn the Americans. As a result, Washington entrenched his army at just the right place to defend against the attack. The British had intended a major breakthrough with more than five thousand men, but when they encountered strong resistance, they merely skirmished there, remaining for a few days before returning to Philadelphia.

Trying to find out why their plans had failed, the British questioned Lydia but took no action against her. This disappointment at Whitemarsh, reported in London by General Charles Cornwallis when he went on leave, discouraged the British there and in Philadelphia, and may have influenced British General William Howe's decision to resign his command and return to Eng-

land. The brave woman in her prim, gray Quaker dress had scored a major intelligence coup.

Success at Trenton and Princeton

Washington's brilliant Christmas Day 1776 foray against the Hessians in Trenton, New Jersey achieved success largely because of the work of a brave spy named John Honeyman. A weaver, butcher, and British army veteran of the French and Indian War, Honeyman had met Washington earlier in Philadelphia and possibly spied for him there.

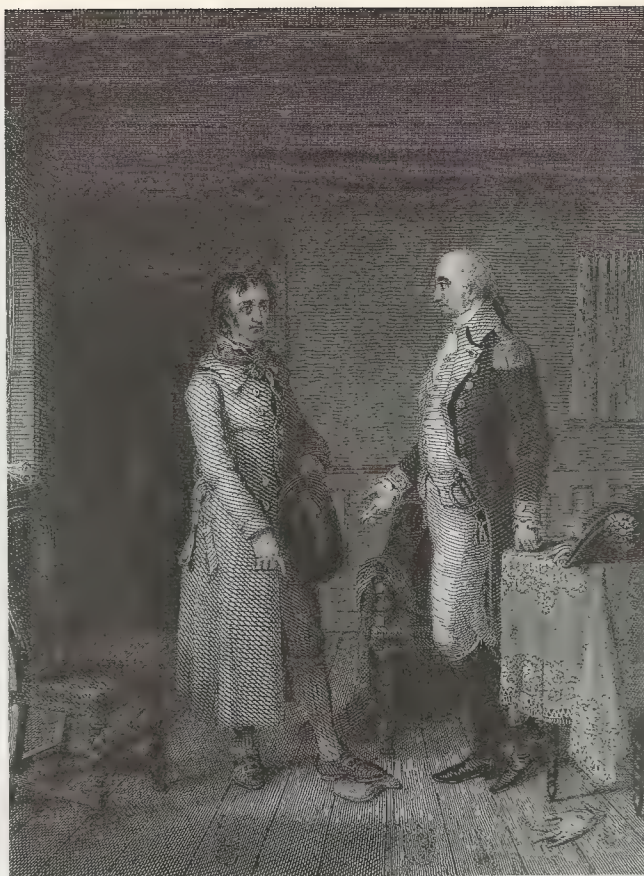
Honeyman's Trenton activities followed a prearranged scenario: he courageously allowed himself to be proclaimed a Tory and a traitor in his hometown of Griggstown, New Jersey. He then fled to British-occupied Trenton, posing as a butcher. Later he contrived to be arrested by the Americans as a suspected Tory spy, but only after he had specific information about Hessian strengths and troop dispositions. Washington insisted on questioning the captured Honeyman in his own tent.

To screen his intentions, Washing-

ton jailed Honeyman. Immediately afterward Honeyman escaped during a nearby fire, crossed the icy Delaware River, and bravely returned to Trenton. There he assured the Hessians that Washington's troops were disorganized; Honeyman then left town again. Although Washington's attack on Trenton the next day had its hazards, it was brilliantly successful because it was based on foreknowledge. The sleet storm that kept the Hessian mercenary troops indoors also helped. Within two hours the Continental army killed or wounded about one hundred and captured more than nine hundred Hessians without losing a single man. This victory boosted the patriots' morale—especially when the captured Hessians were paraded through the streets of Philadelphia.

In January 1777, one month after the battle of Trenton, Washington's spies provided him with extensive information about the British before the battle of Princeton, New Jersey. Anonymous today, these spies plotted all the approaches to Princeton, as well as the British defenses and their artillery and troop

Washington respected the paramount importance of secrecy in working with his agents, and their identities were known only to him and a small circle of other intelligence chiefs. Even today the names of some of Washington's spies remain unknown.





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One of the Continental Army's first attempts at espionage ended in failure in September 1775 when Lieutenant Nathan Hale volunteered to go behind British lines on Long Island to obtain much-needed intelligence. Disguised as a schoolteacher but operating without adequate cover or a safe house, Hale was soon captured with incriminating papers on his person and was hanged. This was a bitter lesson for Washington, who conducted subsequent espionage operations with great care and secrecy.

locations. Washington enjoyed the opportunity to chase fleeing British troops across an open field. The British retreated northward after the battle, and Washington's army settled into winter quarters in Morristown.

Spies Around New York

Because New York City housed British headquarters, important players in the American espionage game worked there and on nearby Long Island, setting up one of their first organized espionage networks.

At first Brigadier General Charles Scott supervised many of the spies on Long Island, but in 1778 Washington appointed Major Benjamin Tallmadge of the Second Regiment of Light Dragoons to take charge. Tallmadge, who had been Nathan Hale's close friend and classmate at Yale University, managed a highly effective team known as the Culper network. He also supervised other spies inside New York City; their identities are known only by initials in his record book. The intelligence they gathered came to him across

Long Island Sound. He later wrote in his memoirs that he had "kept one or more boats constantly employed on this business."

To help him, Tallmadge, a native of Brookhaven, Long Island, enlisted his friends Abraham Woodhull and Robert Townsend, a Quaker and another member of Hale's 1773 Yale class. They were young men, financially well-off and of good social position, and thus able to mix easily with British officers. They set up a systematic information collection and transmission line that the British were never able to stop.

Townsend and a partner kept a general store in New York City. Following Washington's written instructions about espionage targets, he obtained information from British officers when they bought in his store and from Tories who unwittingly gossiped in coffee houses. To fool the British, he wrote articles for *The Royal Gazette*, a Tory newspaper owned by James Rivington, his partner in a coffee shop and, historians now believe, another of Wash-

ington's spies. Townsend had perhaps a dozen other sources in New York, including a woman known today only as "355." Woodhull occasionally visited New York to collect information, staying at his sister's house, where Townsend was a boarder.

In communications with Washington, Townsend became Samuel Culper, Jr., and Woodhull was Samuel Culper, Sr.; Tallmadge was John Bolton. Coded letters to and from Washington were usually written in invisible ink, and fragments of some messages are still preserved. John Jay, Continental Congress president and later the first chief justice of the United States, supplied bottles of the disappearing ink used for writing the letters, as well as the fluid used by Washington to make the writing visible again.

Tallmadge was an ingenious fellow. He devised a code book of 756 important words, including people's names, each having a number. He made only four copies—one each for Washington, the two Culpers, and himself. In this little book he also set up a substitution cipher, in which the letter "e" was "a," "f" was "b," "t" was "z," and so on. Here is an example, written originally in invisible ink, from one of Culper's letters: "Dqpeu Beyocpu agreeable to 28 met 723 not far from 727," which meant "Jonas Hawkins agreeable to appointment met Robert Townsend not far from New York."

To conceal what he was writing to Washington, Townsend (Culper, Jr.) extracted a blank sheet from the middle of a ream of paper, wrote on it with secret ink, then reinserted it carefully in the ream again. The stack of sheets was then wrapped carefully and sealed to resemble an unopened ream.

Culper spy ring courier Austin Roe brought instructions from Tallmadge to New York, periodically riding the fifty-five-mile distance on relays of horses. When he left, he added to his other purchases the ream of paper with Townsend's letter interleaved, braving the searches of British sentries at the Long Island ferry. Riding 110 miles in two days was exhausting, and on more than one of his missions Roe was assailed and robbed.

In Setauket he extracted the spe-

cial sheet of paper from the stack and strolled over to see his cattle in Woodhull's (Culper Sr.'s) field; there Roe deposited the sheet in a concealed box. Woodhull retrieved Townsend's letter, added information from other spies on Long Island in a secret note of his own, and sent the intelligence across Long Island Sound on Caleb Brewster's whaleboat.

Woodhull knew where the rendezvous with Brewster's boat would be by watching Anna Strong's clothesline across the creek in Strongs' Neck. A black petticoat hanging on the line signalled that Brewster had arrived from Connecticut, and the number of handkerchiefs on the line indicated which of six landing places was being used. Woodhull delivered the messages there and Brewster ferried them across to Tallmadge, who sent the secret letters to Washington's headquarters by relays of special couriers spaced fifteen miles apart.

Washington relied heavily on the Culpers' information; he wrote in May 1781 that "of the Culpers' fidelity and ability I entertain the highest opinion." This network sent back a stream of intelligence about British ships and troop movements, destinations, arrivals of supplies and informed speculations about intentions. A British attack on New London, Connecticut was foiled by warnings from the Culpers.

Benedict Arnold and John André

The Culper network sent back the first intimations that something peculiar was going on at West Point, then commanded by Brigadier General Benedict Arnold. British Major John André was visiting at Townsend's father's home in Oyster Bay, Long Island, where other British officers were quartered. Townsend's sister Sarah saw a stranger leave a letter addressed to John Anderson on a kitchen shelf and saw André slip in and pick it up. Later, she overheard André and other British officers speaking in low voices about a man named Anderson and the advantages of seizing West Point and its great quantity of military stores. Suspicious, she informed her brother in New York, who promptly sent a message across the Sound to Tallmadge.



Major Benjamin Tallmadge headed one of Washington's most effective spy teams, known as the "Culper" network. Intelligence gathered in New York City by storekeeper Robert Townsend was regularly relayed by messenger to agent Abraham Woodhull at Setauket, Long Island, then ferried across Long Island Sound to the American lines.

When the message reached him about a day later, Tallmadge learned that a man named Anderson, who soon admitted he was André, had recently been caught carrying in his boots intelligence information, including plans of West Point fortifications. When Tallmadge remembered hearing that Arnold had issued an order specifically permitting "Anderson" to pass through the American lines, he immediately realized what was happening. The sequence of events Tallmadge then triggered almost caused Arnold to be apprehended before he defected and boarded a British sloop.

With so many British officers quartered in his Long Island town and even in his house, Woodhull often feared discovery. He suffered a nervous collapse after two rollicking ladies burst into his room one night as he was writing a spy letter in invisible ink. But after some weeks and a visit from Tallmadge, he resumed his intelligence activities.

Arnold had been in Washington's confidence so long that everyone in
Continued on page 69

BENJAMIN CHURCH

SON OF LIBERTY, TORY SPY

By MARGARET STOLER

As war clouds gathered during 1774-75, British commanding general Thomas Gage (opposite) learned the decisions of American rebel leaders almost as soon as they made them. The patriots knew there was an intelligence leak—but who was the traitor?

How he is to receive adequate punishment is I suppose a question for your code of laws and the objection to POST FACTO laws; but something must be done, and he made an example of." James Warren, chairman of the Continental Congress, was responding to an October 1775 letter from John Adams, member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. Adams had requested advice on actions that might legally be taken against Dr. Benjamin Church, Jr., chief physician of the newly established Continental Army. As the result of recent revelations, the physician now stood accused of corresponding with the enemy. The available evidence strongly implied an even more dire probability—that Church was actually a Tory spy.

To most of those who knew Benjamin Church, this was an astounding turn of events. Throughout the past decade of growing political unrest in the colony, Church had been an ardent spokesman and propagandist for the patriot cause. He was a close associate of the leading radicals in Massachusetts, including Samuel and John Adams and John Hancock; had tended the wounded

at the Battle of Lexington; was a respected delegate to the Massachusetts Provincial Congress and a trusted member of the secret Committee of Safety; and now held a position of responsibility in the Continental Army. That one so close to the heart of revolutionary activities could be a traitor to the patriot cause seemed almost incomprehensible.

Born in Newport, Rhode Island in 1734, Church was the eldest of seven children of Deacon Benjamin Church and his wife Hannah. The family was one of the oldest in New England. Deacon Church's grandfather, a soldier and captain of a Plymouth company, had achieved distinction as an Indian fighter during King Philip's War in the 1670s.

When Benjamin Jr. was still a child the family moved to Boston, where Deacon Church established an auction house and sold imported goods. Benjamin attended Boston Latin School and graduated from Harvard College in 1754, ninth in a class of twenty. He was known among his colleagues for his wit and poetry, most of which was satirical. Later Church's verse took on a more



Preceding page: British general Thomas Gage was Massachusetts governor and British military commander in the colonies during the tense months before war broke out between America and England.

Samuel Adams and other rebel leaders fomented resistance against the British through their Committee of Safety but were repeatedly frustrated when Gage learned of their proceedings. Although the rebels realized that "there was a Traytor in the Provincial Congress, & that Gage was possessed of all their Secrets," they were unable to determine the identity of the spy in their midst until September 1775, when an intercepted secret message led to Dr. Benjamin Church, Jr., a member of the patriots' inner circle of leaders.

Paul Revere, who harbored doubts about Benjamin Church's loyalty to the patriot cause, encountered the physician on April 20, 1775, the day after the "shots heard around the world." Church described being present at the clash on Lexington Common and claimed that as he was encouraging the American militia to resist the advancing British regulars he was splashed with blood from a fatally wounded minuteman.

"I well remember," Revere wrote twenty years later, "that I argued with my self, if a Man will risque his life in a Cause, he must be a Friend to that cause; & I never suspected him after, till He was charged with being a Traytor."



serious tone; one poem appeared in *Pietas et Gratulatio*, Harvard College's gift to George III, eulogizing the death of the king's father in 1761. Another poem, "The Choice," about the new leisure class in America, would become a landmark in the history of colonial literature.

Following his graduation, Church studied medicine for three years, including two years under Dr. Charles Pyncheon, one of the leading physicians in London. While in England,

Church married Sarah Hill. Returning to Boston in about 1759, he set up a practice, advertising "a good assortment of Drugs and medicine to be sold at his shop . . . by large or small quantities; Where Town and Country Physicians may be supplied with the best medicine at the Most reasonable rates ALSO some noted Modern author in Physic Surgery and Midwifery, and all kinds of grocery!"

In addition to selling drugs and ministering to patients, Church gave

lectures on anatomy to the public, and, when he was able to gain access to an unclaimed cadaver, taught the art of dissecting to his peers. His practice prospered, and he became one of the leading physicians in Boston.

Church's family expanded to include two sons and two daughters. In 1768 the physician built a lavish summer home in Raynham, supposedly going into debt in the process, and three years later he purchased a large house in one of Boston's most



"THE FIGHT ON LEXINGTON COMMON" BY HOWARD PYLE (1887); COURTESY OF THE DELAWARE ART MUSEUM, WILMINGTON

respected neighborhoods.

With Parliament's passage of the Stamp Act in 1765, Church became active in Massachusetts politics, associating with some of the colony's leading revolutionary ideologues. He applied his poetic talent to writing songs for the Sons of Liberty and spent his Saturday afternoons in the long room above the *Boston Gazette*, writing virulent anti-British propaganda in company with James

Otis, John Hancock, Dr. Joseph Warren, and Samuel and John Adams.

John Adams's diary describes the meetings in the long room as "Curious employment . . . cooking up paragraphs, articles, occurrences and working the political Machine!" At one of the meetings Samuel Adams introduced the idea of sending letters to other communities stating their grievances. Thus was established the Committee of Correspondence. Benjamin Church

and Joseph Warren made up the first subcommittee.

The revolutionaries' propaganda network had a significant effect in arousing sentiment against arbitrary British taxation and administration. Governor Thomas Hutchinson noted in his diary that "all of a sudden from a state of peace, order and general contentment . . . the province more or less from one end to the other, was brought into a state of Contention, disorder, and general dissatisfaction."



"THE EIGHT AT CONCORD BRIDGE" BY A. LASSELL RIPLEY, COPYRIGHT BY THE PAUL REVERE LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

The Revolutionary War's opening clashes at Lexington Green and Concord Bridge (above) took place when British regulars in Boston were dispatched to Concord to capture rebel munitions stored there. Historical evidence suggests that Dr. Benjamin Church supplied the British command with intelligence regarding the location of militia depots, and thus he probably played a small but crucial role in that day's momentous events.

Following the Boston Massacre in March 1770, Church was called to testify at a hearing regarding his postmortem examination of riot leader Crispus Attucks and to head a small committee of dissenters in protesting the shootings to Governor Hutchinson. In March 1773, on the third anniversary of the incident, the physician presented an impassioned memorial oration before a vast audience in Old South Church. "Where are the residue of active citizens that were wont to tread these sacred floors?" asked Church. "Fallen by the hands of the vindictive assassins . . . Loyalty stands on tiptoe at the shocking recollection which justice, virtue, honor, patriotism, become suppli-

ants for immoderate vengeance." Following the speech, Yale College awarded Church an honorary master of arts degree.

In mid-1773, Boston patriots established a Committee of Safety to coordinate rebel activities and monitor the British factions in the area. The self-appointed group held meetings in Boston's Green Dragon Tavern. Its membership included Church, John Hancock, Paul Revere, Robert Paine, Joseph and James Warren, and Samuel and John Adams. Each swore on a Bible at every meeting that all the proceedings would remain secret.

Soon after the Boston Tea Party in December 1773, the Boston rebels began collecting arms and storing

them in outlying areas such as Roxbury, Dorchester, Concord, and Lexington. As a chairman of the Committee of Safety, Church was aware of the location and amount of the arms.

He continued to speak out vehemently against the British. At a town meeting on November 3, 1774, Church's speech was so incendiary that only through the efforts of James Otis was a riot prevented. Five and one-half months later, on April 19, 1775, war began at Lexington and Concord.

Church claimed to have been present at the opening clash on the Lexington common. The day after the battle he showed Paul Revere "some blood on his Stocking, which he said Spirted on him from a man who was kill'd near him, as he was urging the Militia on." Several days later Church entered British-occupied Boston, ostensibly for medical supplies, an act his peers considered quite dangerous. Upon returning, the physician reported that he had been arrested and taken before General Thomas Gage (the new Massachusetts governor and British military commander in the colonies), then eventually released.

Church was appointed to write the provincial account of the battles at Lexington and Concord, propaganda that proved highly effective in rallying the colonies to take up arms. His vivid narrative emphasized that the American minutemen at Lexington were "so far from being disposed to commit hostilities against the troops of their sovereign, that unless attacked, they were determined to be peaceable spectators" to the movements of the British forces. "The devastation committed by the British troops on their retreat," he continued, "is almost beyond description; such as plundering and burning of dwelling-houses and other buildings, driving into the street women in child-bed, killing old men in their houses unarmed. . . . And all this because these colonies will not submit to the iron yoke of arbitrary power." Dispatched by fast ship to England on orders of the Continental Congress, Church's account of Lexington and Concord reached London before the official British report on the battles, causing confusion and embarrassing the British government.

The Committee of Safety met frequently during late 1774 and early 1775. Soon it became apparent to the rebel leaders that General Gage knew of their decisions almost before the ink was dry on the minutes of their meetings. But despite additional precautions over the next several months—including moving the meeting site and excluding John Leonard (a member of the group not trusted by Samuel Adams) from crucial decisions—rebel secrets continued to fall into British hands. The American defeat at Bunker Hill on June 17, 1775 was attributed in part to the fact that Gage had obtained prior intelligence regarding the size of rebel fortifications.

After the devastating losses at Bunker Hill, the Committee of Safety intensified its efforts to discover the informer. Attention turned to Church when some members recalled the doctor's rather mysterious trip into Boston after the battle at Lexington. It was also reported by Church's apprentice/bookkeeper that the physician, who was usually "much drove for money," was enjoying a considerable increase in his accounts of late. Paul Revere further observed that Church "kept company with a Capt. Price, a half-pay British officer, & that He frequently dined with him, & Robinson, one of the Commissioners." But when questioned, Church explained that he associated with Price and Robinson "on purpose to find out their plans." The physician's longstanding record as a prominent revolutionary spokesman and propagandist now worked in his favor, and it was recalled that he had never hesitated in giving his time and energy to the rebel cause. Briefly aroused, suspicions faded.

Although Church firmly espoused the revolutionary cause, his brother-in-law John Fleming was an ardent Tory. Fleming had emigrated from England to Boston in 1765 and with John Mein opened a print shop there. They published the *Boston Chronicle*, a popular Tory newspaper. In 1769 rebels stoned the shop, breaking windows and axing the door. Mein returned to England, but Fleming remained in Boston and opened a new shop.

Soon after Bunker Hill, Fleming wrote to Church, urging him to de-

fect to British-occupied Boston: "They [the British] are determined to Crush this rebellion . . . For God's sake, Doctor, come to town directly. I'll engage to procure you a pardon. Your sister is unhappy under the apprehension of your being taken and hanged for a rebel . . . We know well that you are divided; That your people are discouraged; that you want Discipline, artillery [*sic*] and Ammunition." Fleming suggested that Church go to Newport and board a British warship there, but the physician did not follow his brother-in-law's advice.

On May 16, 1775, the Massachusetts Provincial Congress voted to apply for aid from the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia and to propose that a Continental Army be established. Church was appointed to carry the proposal to Philadelphia. It was accepted by the Continental Congress, and George Washington was appointed supreme commander of the army. On July 3 Church was one of the officials who welcomed Washington to Massachusetts. Three weeks later Church was unanimously elected director and chief physician of the first Continental Army hospital, in Cambridge.

In August 1775 a woman from Cambridge arrived in Newport, Rhode Island, where she visited Godfrey Wenwood, a friend with whom she had previously had an intimate relationship. Wenwood, now a respected baker in Newport, supplied most of the British ships in the harbor with bread and pastries. Wenwood's old lover asked for his help in delivering a letter to Sir James Wallace, commander of the HMS *Rose*, or to either of two local men, one a Royal customs agent and the other a prominent Tory businessman. Wenwood agreed to give the letter, which was addressed to a "Major Cane in Boston," to Captain Wallace during his next visit to the HMS *Rose*.

It was several days before Wenwood's next scheduled delivery to the *Rose*. In the interim the baker, who despite his business dealings with the British Navy was an ardent patriot, began to question why his former girlfriend would be corresponding with a British army officer. He showed the letter to Maxwell Adams, a local schoolmaster, who



The origins and authenticity of this rather crude portrait of Dr. Benjamin Church are uncertain. Apparently drawn by an amateur artist, it may or may not reflect his actual appearance. Perhaps appropriately, that detail—like virtually every other of Church's life and death—remains shrouded in mystery.

broke the wax seal and opened it. Finding that the correspondence was in cipher, and unsure of what to do next, the two men laid the mysterious letter aside.

Later Wenwood received a letter from the girl, who asked why he had not delivered the message. The baker's old lover also warmly assured him that "thar is aserten person hear wants to Sea you verey much So pray com as Swon as posebell . . ."

Their suspicions rekindled, Wenwood and Maxwell took the letter to Henry Ward, patriot secretary of Rhode Island, who advised Wenwood to forward the letter to General Nathan Greene, commander of Rhode Island troops in Cambridge. Wenwood rode to Cambridge and reported to Greene. After examining the ciphered message and the woman's letter, General Greene escorted Wenwood to Vassal House, Washington's temporary quarters in Cambridge, where the two men gained an immediate audience with the commander in chief. Washing-

ton questioned Wenwood, then ordered the arrest of the baker's former girlfriend.

Later the same evening the young woman was delivered to Vassal House. Washington possessed extensive experience in interrogation, having served as examining magistrate in Virginia, and he and his aides questioned the girl through most of the night. "For a long time she was proof against every threat and persuasion to discover the Author," the general later noted, but finally at daybreak the woman revealed that Dr. Benjamin Church had written the letter. She also admitted to being Church's mistress.

After seeking advice from local authorities who knew Church, Washington ordered the physician taken into custody. Church readily admitted that the letter was his, maintaining that it was intended for his brother-in-law Fleming "in answer to one he wrote to him." According to Warren, Church further claimed that the letter contained erroneous information "calculated by magnifying the numbers of the army, their regularity, their provisions and ammunition, etc., to do great service to us. He declares his conduct tho' indiscreet was not wicked."

Despite his protestations that the letter contained no treasonous material, Church declined to provide the key to its cipher. Washington was forced to enlist three amateur cryptographers to decode the message. By October 3, with one cryptanalyst working independently and the other two as a team, they broke the cipher. All three men arrived at identical conclusions: the letter contained military intelligence, including information on American losses at Bunker Hill and the amount of military equipment stored in New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Although the figures were somewhat exaggerated (as Church had claimed), the information given was known only by military officers and a few members of the Committee of Safety. [For a more complete study of the cryptogram, see pages 36-41.]

Washington ordered that Church be formally arrested. He was placed in Cambridge Prison.

The general also had the physician's papers and records seized.

Nothing suspicious was found; Washington later reported to Congress that apparently "a confidant had been among [the papers] before my messenger arrived."

Washington and his generals summoned Church before a council of war on October 3-4, finding the physician guilty of "holding criminal correspondence with the enemy." But the commander in chief was somewhat at a loss as to what to do next, for the Articles of War recently enacted by the Continental Congress failed to provide an appropriate punishment for such a serious offense. He turned the case over to the Massachusetts Assembly and the Continental Congress.

News of Church's apparent treason sent shock waves of disbelief throughout the colony, shaking the confidence of those involved in the revolutionary movement.

The physician's arrest gave James Warren "much uneasiness, not only as it affects the character, and may prove the ruin of a man who I used to have a tolerable opinion of, but as it may be the cause of many suspicions and jealousies, and what is still worse, have a tendency to discredit the recommendations of my friends in Congress."

John Adams was even more dismayed: "I stand astonished. A Man of Genius, of Learning, of Family, of Character, a Writer of Liberty Songs and good ones too, a Speaker of Liberty orations, a Member of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, a Member of the Massachusetts Congress, an Agent for that Congress to the Continental Congress, a Member of the House, A Director General of the Hospital and Surgeon General—Good God! What shall we say of Human Nature? What shall we say of American Patriots?"

Finally, on October 27, 1775, Church was summoned before the Massachusetts Assembly. He continued to claim his innocence, arguing that he had purposely exaggerated the strength of the colonial forces in his letter and sent it in an attempt to bluff British military commanders into seeking peace. "I have been led from Caiaphas to Herod, and from Herod to Pontius Pilate," the prisoner complained, noting that he had

been convicted by military, not civil law, and that he had not been accorded the services of a lawyer. "I demand your confidence, gentlemen," he appealed in conclusion: "The warmest Bosom here does not flame with a brighter Zeal, for the security, happiness and liberties of America than mine."

The disgraced physician's protestations were to no avail. He was "utterly expelled" from the Provincial Congress and returned to jail. On November 7 the Continental Congress ordered that Church "be close confined in some secure gaol in the colony of Connecticut, without the use of pen, ink and paper, and that no person be allowed to converse with him except in the presence and hearing of a Magistrate of the Town or the Sherriff of the County where he shall be confined . . . until further orders from this or a future Congress."

Church was sent to Norwich Prison in Connecticut and placed in "a close, narrow, dark and noisom cell which had been ventilated by one small grate, which was now blocked up." The town felt no obligation to feed the prisoner, so Church's father, whose home in Boston had been confiscated for use as quarters for British soldiers, took on the added burden of providing food for his son.

On January 1, 1776, Church was permitted to write a letter to the Continental Congress protesting the poor conditions in his cell, which he claimed were causing frequent asthma attacks, and requesting permission to exercise in the yard outside. Governor Jonathan Trumbull was subsequently instructed to permit Church to exercise but always accompanied by an armed guard.

The following May, Church's father, his brother Edward, and three physicians petitioned the Continental Congress for his release, claiming that his health had deteriorated so badly that he would soon die. Permission was granted under the conditions that sureties of £1,000 be provided and that Church not correspond with the enemy nor leave Massachusetts. Seeking funds for the bond, Church's father wrote to John Hancock requesting the two months' back pay for the physician's services as army medical director. The elder Church claimed his

son's right to the money since "he was taken up and confined for writing a L'tr to his brother [in-law] Fleming which was deemed by some prejudicial to his country, but to me and others He was repeatedly affirmed the Contrary, that he never meant to injure, but to save his country. . . ."

Noting the populace's intense prejudice against Church, many observers felt that he would be killed if released from prison. "If he is set at liberty even after he has received severe punishment," Abigail Adams wrote to her husband, "I do not think he will be safe."

Her concerns proved well-founded. Church was finally released, and he rode to Waltham where he planned to spend the night at the inn. When the townspeople learned of his presence there, a mob stormed the house. Only through the aid of the local sheriff was Church able to escape through a rear window. He was then escorted to Cambridge Prison for his own safety, where he remained.

Six months later General William Howe (who had replaced Gage as British commander in the colonies) negotiated a prisoner exchange between Church and an American surgeon held by the British. But when a carriage arrived at Cambridge Prison to pick up Church, a riotous mob attacked the officers sent to protect the prisoner, and he again had to be returned to his cell.

The mob then headed for the house in which Church's abandoned wife Sarah and their children resided. Mrs. Church later testified that "not content with wreaking their malice on your memorialist's husband, they broke open his house, pillaged and destroyed every thing it contain'd, not leaving her a change of cloathes, nor even a bed for her or her children to lie on." A few pieces of silver plate overlooked by the looters later secured passage for Sarah and the children to England. (There she eventually received an £150 annual pension "in consequences of certain services [her husband] had rendered government.")

On January 9, 1778, the General Court of Massachusetts ordered that Church be sent into exile: "the Sheriff of the County of Suffock be and hereby is Directed to Remove Doct. Church on Board the Sloop

Welcome, Cpt. James Smithwick, Master, bound for the Island of Martinique when she is ready for sail."

The *Welcome* departed on January 12. A few days later a violent storm apparently sank the sloop. There were no known survivors.

So ended—or nearly ended—the unhappy story of Benjamin Church, Jr., physician, patriot, and traitor. In 1930—152 years after Church's death—American historian William L. Clements purchased a portion of General Thomas Gage's papers and manuscripts, and for the first time the extent of the physician's duplicity became known. Among Gage's files were at least four letters that have been identified as originating from Church. The correspondence revealed to the British commander some of the patriots' most secret political and military information. Church had informed Gage that the rebels were amassing military supplies in Concord and Lexington, and that they planned to fortify Dorchester Heights and Bunker Hill. The British movements leading to clashes at Concord and Lexington on April 19, 1775, and the American defeat at Bunker Hill on June 17, can at least in part be attributed to intelligence provided by the physician.

At his trial Church had claimed that "regard to place, popularity or the detestable motive of avarice never influenced my conduct in public life." But in one letter to Gage dated April 1775, he reminded the British general that "The 25th of this month finishes a quarter," leaving little doubt that Church was being paid for his services as a spy. ★

Massachusetts free-lance writer and researcher Margaret G. Stoler specializes in early American history.

Recommended additional reading: *Turncoats, Traitors, and Heroes* by John Bakeless (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1959) contains two chapters on Benjamin Church's role as a British spy and amateur cryptographer. *General Gage's Informers* by Allen French (New York: Greenwood Publishers, 1968) examines Church's spying activities as revealed through the papers and records of General Thomas Gage.

THE CHURCH CRYPTOGRAM: TO CATCH A TORY SPY

By **MICHAEL L. PETERSON**

Late in September 1775, a three-page letter written in cipher was placed before Lieutenant General George Washington. The forty-three-year-old general could have been excused had he chosen to ignore the intrusion; he needed no secret messages to complicate his new duties as commander of the fledgling Continental Army. At the very least, he was rusty. He had been away from soldiering for seventeen years, running a Virginia plantation as the "private gentleman of Mount Vernon" until being appointed commander in chief in June 1775—two months after the battles of Lexington and Concord and the day before the battle of Bunker Hill. Not until early July did he actually assume command of the American forces besieging Boston.

Headquartered in Cambridge, Massachusetts, across the Charles River basin from Boston, Washington had labored through the sum-

mer trying to turn a ragtag band of patriots into an army. His forces were short of artillery. There were few engineers. Probably most vexing for Washington was his army's lack of adequate funding. Early in the war, he probably spent as much time wrestling with Congress over money as fighting the British. In part because of the financial problems, the commander in chief found insufficient numbers of troops fit for duty, and those men he had were poorly clothed, badly housed, and undisciplined.

In light of these difficulties, an unreadable message might well have appeared an unwelcome distraction. But to his credit, Washington immediately recognized the letter as possible evidence of betrayal of the American cause.

That the secret letter had reached the general at all could be called an act of Providence. Only a fortuitous sequence of unusual, sometimes melodramatic events had made it

possible.

The enciphered message had first appeared in the hands of Godfrey Wenwood, a bachelor baker in Newport, Rhode Island, who acquired the sealed correspondence from a former intimate acquaintance who lived in Cambridge. Their relationship apparently had not involved political discussions, because the woman seemed unaware that Wenwood was an American patriot. Why else would she have tried to induce him to help her deliver the letter in Newport to any of several individuals, all known to be loyal to the Crown?

Wenwood was understandably reluctant to comply with the woman's request. He could see that the letter was openly addressed to "Major Cane in Boston on his magisty's service"—undoubtedly a British officer. (Cane was, in fact, an aide to British commanding general Thomas Gage.) Suspicious of the circumstances, Wenwood sent the

L AYCEP SALK GLH OMMA IXLSAOPPQ35P766N A94P LV9PP GLAY LSXLS5P KXLXPXPS LX2AP
PX5AP79X99X PLXSY*P0P0 LX 95P766S LX2 ALP K996P WJLS X+05J X95 P766VXIPSP0 99X,999
P9LXAP 99LXWIX 0YX ALX WOPMAHAP 99X SYX XLX P 9X99 999X P JOLX29AL56LYP CYLT9929
YX XPPKXKX WLS9 9LS5P 905 9X9 9LS5P 97KA KP5P99SAP 995P05LX9Y YX3A K1X9P 91 0P530
X0YT 66AL99P766AL9L9PXS WLSAP 999 YX 60Y+L9PXS95Y+LXLS5YV3AP0SAP SYTTL50P XY
990/LK9 KSYOPX 990P9P 9XY0Y915PXP0P YX12 66LP0P X 59KXVX18 9X924 6YJX9P0
SAP 99+LX25Y96P9LYJX 0P9V9LSLYXSY X9 KP5AP VXX905Y 0P9P091 990 95Y 99L999P0L
YX YX KP0+L5P K1XPXSAPY 9Y9X 9X9 8APX SAP 0P5P99P9 SAPY SAP KPX5APY SY K3YJ9ASX
9YWPYLS YX 99X2P0P9K SAP 99L 99P XY0Y9P 9AP 0P9V9LSLYX 9X LWPXY0P ALX5P0YX XY0S
X1LX2 WJXKP0H4L1 9ALSAS9P9AP0 GL5ASAP 9Y9 90P9L9P YX SAPS1JTKL 9V9 2P00LX
9X9 SYX X99XVX 9P0P9AP 9LSK1 Y559XLYX YX SAPL0 0P9P99SALK 9XX910 996P9P9 WJXV0
X0P9J0X X0YT 66AP 99P9YX5 16S KL9P9SAPX 9X9 K1X5P 0P9P9 YX SAPL0 8YJX9K 120
XV9 99P 9YJX9P9 SAPSALPX GLH 0P5Y+P0 SAP 9Y9X5 9YJ 99P 1400 KL9P9 29YJX9P0L
SAP 99SLYX 9YJ 99SAP 0P9P9X 9X5 1500LXK66Y X9 GL5AP 99L99 50LSA SAP 6P966P9YX
9YX9P9SLS990P 0P9+LX2 LXJAP99LXP YX 9LWP0SL 9XJTW90 X0YT SALK 9Y9X9X X0YT 99
9Y9 X YX X99XV0P 0YWW9P SAP K1X2K K9Y0P99S X99 9V0K GL5A 9V9P9999 9XK1X59K
SAP X999V0K9P9P9X5 SAPY 9AP9P9P9 20Y9LX2 5J0WJ1PXS L9YJX5P9 28066LP9P9X 99
XVX X0YT 29Y9 66YJX9P0K9S K1X2K X0LT2P 9ALSASAP SYTTL55P9 99P9P9P9
XV0 SAP 99P YX SAP 9Y9XLT9 SAP 9P9L9P9 90P X99 9 9ALS W9ALX 9 9YX9P9SLSLS L
9P99SAP 66AL99P9 66AL9X K9S9P9 SAPY W9SAL 9X9 2200P9LX 0P9L99 SAP0P9Y 2P9P99
9P9YXK1X2LX2YX 9L9K90K 99AP0 LKA9WLS9X5K LX JXLXV0P GL5A 9000 0LXK1P
Y9K 940AV0K9 9AY 9V9P9AP0 999P9 9YX5 990/LK9 966P999X5P9LYLX2P9X0P9
9X0P9L9P9SIL GL5A SAP 9P9W90K YX3AP 9YX5LXP999 9YX20P9K9LAP 9P0P 9YLS9P 0P9
9P9LX9P9 LX 9666YK1LSLYX 9X9 9666P90P9 9XK10P9 YX KLS9P9K X99 9V9P9 9Y9P
SAPY 666YK1LSLYX LX W9P9Y9 XY0Y99W9P 185AYJ K9X9P9PX W99P9 9P9P09LX9P9
GL5A 99KALX25YX 9X9 9P99SAPL0 999P90P XY9YX5P966SLW9P 9X9Y9 99J99K

9P9P099 299P9

Preceding page: In early September 1775 an unlikely chain of events placed a mysterious, ciphered letter into the hands of recently appointed Continental Army commander George Washington. The three-page letter (page 1 is reproduced here) consisted of about 3,800 closely-spaced symbols. When deciphered, the 1,000-word message implicated trusted patriot spokesman and Army medical chief Dr. Benjamin Church as a Tory spy.

Several days after the 1775 battle of Bunker Hill, Dr. Church entered British-occupied Boston to tend to wounded American prisoners (or by some accounts to obtain medical supplies). After his return to rebel-held Cambridge, Church described being arrested and taken before British commander Thomas Gage for questioning. Subsequent events and circumstances suggest, however, that Church met Gage not as a prisoner but as a Tory spy. Church's intercepted cryptogram, sent the following month and apparently intended for Gage, contained information on American casualties at Bunker Hill. Messages sent to Gage before the battle (found among the British general's papers more than 150 years later) warned that the Americans intended to occupy the heights.



woman on her way with assurances of a later delivery.

The baker may have then forgotten about the letter; he was preparing for marriage, preoccupation enough for anyone. He did eventually take the letter to a friend—a local schoolmaster named Adam Maxwell, who had no compunction about breaking the seal and opening the missive. Although the two men saw the message was conveyed in unreadable characters, Wenwood, for reasons now unknown, took no immediate action.

The story might have ended there but for the Cambridge woman's persistence. In late September, almost two months after leaving the letter with Wenwood, she wrote him a note expressing wonder at why he had "never Sent wot you promest to send."

This note compelled the obvious question: How did the woman know Wenwood had not forwarded the letter to Boston unless she had contact with the British?

Wenwood was finally moved to meaningful action. Accompanied by

his friend the schoolmaster, he went to Henry Ward, the patriot secretary of the Rhode Island colony. Ward recognized the potential significance of the letter and urged Wenwood to forward it to Continental Army headquarters as soon as possible. To avoid alerting British spies, Ward also cautioned Wenwood against making the trip himself.

Despite the warning, the young baker rode directly to Cambridge, where he delivered the letter to Brigadier General Nathanael Greene. Greene in turn escorted Wenwood to



"THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL," BY HOWARD PYLT (1897), COURTESY OF THE DELAWARE ART MUSEUM, WILMINGTON

the commander in chief.

As might be expected from someone of Washington's character, the general moved quickly to solve the mystery of *who* had written *what* to Cane. Washington first asked Woodward to locate the woman and to uncover the author's name through the art of friendly persuasion. When the baker's charm failed to bring forth positive results, Washington had the woman arrested. In due course, following protracted interrogation by the general himself, she was persuaded, naming Dr. Ben-

jamin Church, Jr.

Washington was undoubtedly shocked. Church was an eminent Boston physician, long-standing member of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, colleague of Samuel Adams and John Hancock, and Washington's recently appointed "Director General of the Hospital" for the Continental Army. The woman, it turned out, had been not only the doctor's messenger but also his mistress.

Brought to headquarters under guard, Church confirmed that the

letter was his but protested that it was intended only for his brother-in-law in Boston. Church also claimed that the message contained nothing criminal and declared his loyalty to the American cause. He declined, however, to decipher the letter.

Enciphered messages, in and of themselves, were not inherently suspicious during the eighteenth century. In those days, letters were simply folded over and sealed in wax without a U.S. Postal Service or even an envelope

Simple Cipher, Tough Puzzle

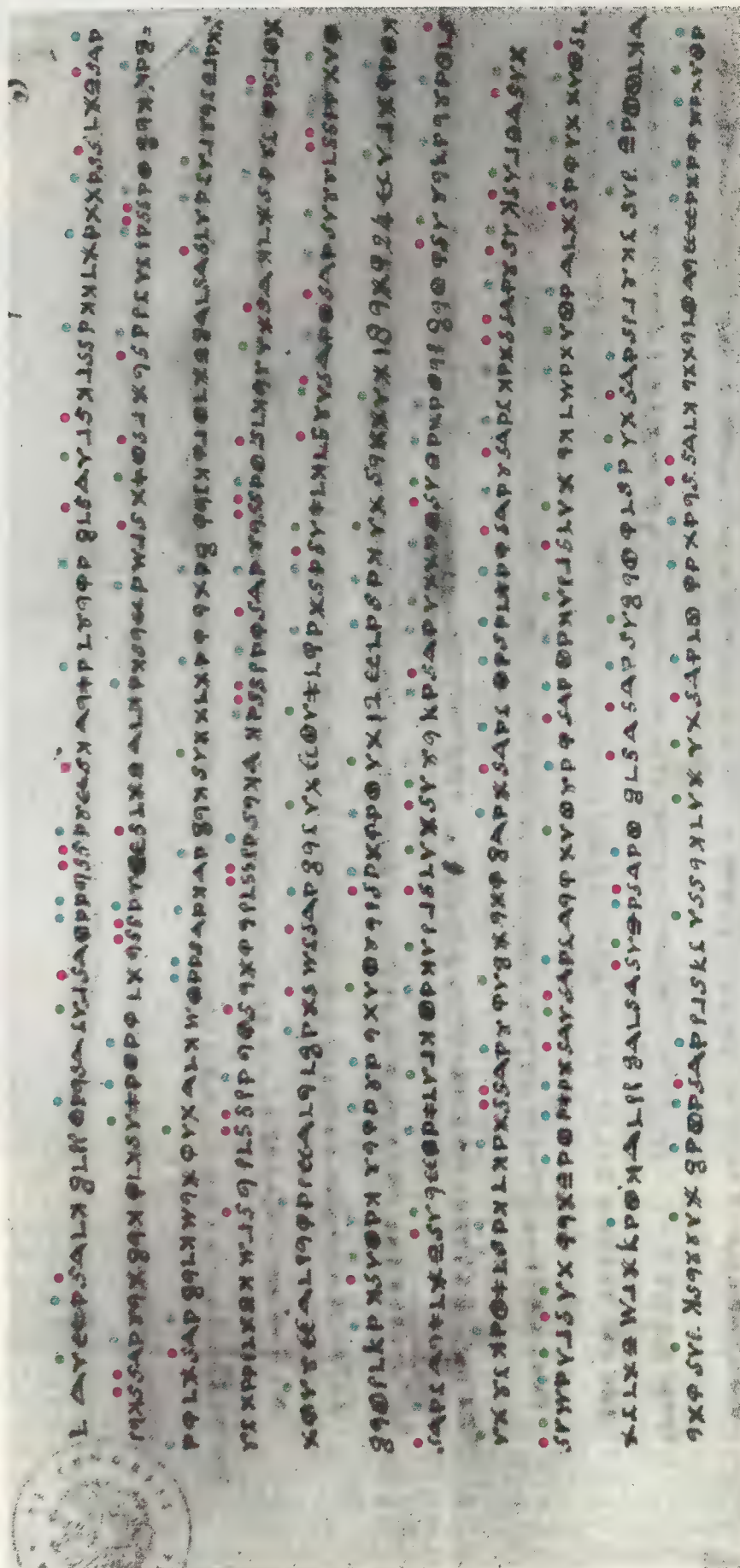
The Church cryptogram may have been written in a "simple" cipher (involving the substitution of symbols for letters) and may have been "rapidly" decrypted by Washington's cryptanalysts, but the reader should not conclude that the solution was easy. The message was a fairly tough nut to crack in 1775 and is no less difficult today. Beyond its cipher alphabet, the cryptogram contains several features adding to its complexity, including a handwritten text of variable legibility, no separation between words, no capitalization, and virtually no punctuation.

The classical approach to breaking a letter-substitution cipher begins by counting the number of times each symbol appears, then listing these in descending order of appearance. Character distribution studies of written English have shown that the eleven most-used letters, in descending order, are usually ETOANIRSHDL. (The Church cryptogram varies slightly from this sequence after the first three letters.)

With patience and crossed fingers, the cryptanalyst uses this frequency distribution principle and intuition to produce logically likely words from already-assumed letters. Eventually, readable text will appear.

For the reader with the courage and time to tackle such a puzzle, the first eleven lines of Church's message are reproduced at right. Because counting all of the characters (even in this small portion of the message) is a very tedious exercise, the reader is invited to take advantage of the colored dots appearing over the three most-used symbols—which may be assumed to represent the letters E, T, and O.

The deciphered text for the entire message appears on page 43. ★



to protect them from prying eyes. Many people, including Thomas Jefferson, frequently enciphered their personal correspondence to ensure its confidentiality.

What pointed so strongly to espionage was the intentionally circuitous route the message had taken. It simply did not make sense for an innocent letter, written in Cambridge and addressed to nearby Boston, to be delivered by way of Loyalist hands in Newport, some sixty-five miles south of its intended destination.

Because Church refused to decipher his "innocent" letter, Washington sought someone who would. Three members of the Continental Army proved willing to mount a "cryptanalytic" attack on the secret message. The Reverend Samuel West, a chaplain, was given a copy. And Elbridge Gerry, who later became the fifth vice president of the United States, teamed up with Elisha Porter, a colonel in the Massachusetts militia. All reputedly had some familiarity with secret writing.

On October 3, a few days after the confrontation with Church, Washington received two separate deciphered texts. West, Gerry, and Porter had reached the same conclusions and results. The original letter had been written in English and enciphered using what cryptanalysts call a "simple monoalphabetic substitution system": each plain or real letter in the message was replaced by a secret letter or symbol that never varied.

The cipher system used by Church was quite primitive, even for the eighteenth century. The amateur code-breakers recovered the original message by using a cryptanalytic principle called "frequency distribution."

West, Gerry, and Porter undoubtedly began the code-breaking process by tabulating the different symbols and noting the number of times each appeared in the message. The cryptogram not surprisingly contained twenty-seven different symbols (which, it soon became clear, represented the twenty-six characters of the English alphabet plus the ampersand).

They also found that three symbols made up almost one-third of the 3,800 characters in the message. The logical cryptanalytic assump-

tion would be that these three symbols represented, in decreasing order of appearance, the letters E, T, and O—normally the most frequently used characters in the written English language.

With some additional study, the cryptanalysts would have also noted that the five least-used letters of the alphabet—J, K, Q, X, and Z—had not even been replaced by symbols. Given these revelations, the cryptogram was rapidly deciphered.

If Washington needed any convincing that the leading physician in his army was a British spy, the proof lay in the text of Church's letter. It was a rambling, wordy, and loosely organized report. John Adams, who knew the Harvard-educated doctor well, called the letter "the oddest thing imaginable. There were so many lies in it, calculated to give the enemy a high idea of our power and importance, as well as so many truths tending to do us good that one knows not how to think him treacherous." Samuel Ward, Rhode Island delegate to the Continental Congress, was less charitable: "... what a complication of madness and wickedness must a soul be filled with to be capable of such perfidy, what punishment can equal such horrid crimes!"

Whatever its accuracy relative to the specific numbers of American troops under arms and disposition of weapons, the Church letter contained an unintentional form of historical truth in terms of the rich flavor of the language and a genuine sense of the temper of those rebellious times.

The letter opened on an almost humorous note, with Church describing his difficulties in forwarding correspondence to his contacts in Boston. Three earlier attempts had failed. Church's last messenger had been arrested while carrying the letter sewn into the waistband of his pants; he had been set free a few days later with the incriminating message still undetected, thanks to "a little art and a little cash."

The letter then recounted Church's recent visit to Philadelphia, where he claimed to have "mingled freely & frequently with the members of the Continental Congress. They were united, deter-

Among General Gage's files were at least four letters that have been identified as originating from Church. The correspondence revealed to the British commander some of the patriots' most secret political and military information.

**The British
movements
leading to clashes
at Concord and
Lexington can at
least in part be
attributed
to intelligence
provided by
Church.**

mined in opposition, and appeared assured of success."

Church then reported on the disposition of twelve cannon held by the patriots and what he had heard about the numbers of men killed and wounded on both sides at the battle of Bunker Hill. He again characterized the mood of the colonists: "The people of Connecticut are raving in the cause of Liberty . . . The Jerseys are not a whit behind Connecticut in zeal. The Philadelphians exceed them both."

The letter continued with observations on the number and disposition of American troops, provisions, and armament. (Probably unintentionally, Church exaggerated the size of the patriot forces.) The correspondence also touched on the economies of the colonies and warned of increasing American support for political freedom (the Declaration of Independence was almost a year in the future).

Perhaps to his credit, Church recommended against war: "For the sake of the miserable, convulsed Empire, solicit peace; appeal the Acts, or Britain is undone . . . For God's sake prevent it by a speedy accommodation."

Finally, Church hinted at a need for funds, outlined elaborate instructions on how British correspondence should be forwarded to him, and ended prophetically with "Make use of every precaution or I perish."

General Washington and his staff judged Church guilty of traitorous communication with the enemy and imprisoned him.

Although he had both his man and incriminating evidence in hand, the Church case turned out to be difficult for Washington to handle. In June 1775, during the session of the Continental Congress in which Washington had been appointed commander in chief, Articles of War were also adopted. Article XXVIII provided that anyone caught communicating with the enemy should suffer such punishment as a court-martial might direct. This law seemed clear enough. Unfortunately for those who wished to see Church hanged, Article LI limited "such punishment" to thirty-nine lashes, or a fine of two month's pay, and/or

cashiering from the service.

Washington wrote to the Continental Congress on October 5, noting the Church incident and requesting a change to the Articles of War that would allow for punishment befitting the magnitude of the crime. On November 7, Congress acted, adding the death penalty for espionage.

But the death penalty could not be applied retroactively, so the doctor languished in prison. Two years after Church's imprisonment, Sir William Howe, who had replaced General Gates as commander of the British occupying forces, gave *de facto* admission of the physician's guilt by offering a prisoner exchange for him. Public outcries prevented Church's release.

Finally, in 1780, Congress exiled Church to the West Indies. But the small schooner on which he sailed was never heard from following her departure, apparently lost at sea.

History eventually confirmed the circumstantial judgment of Washington and others when Gage's personal papers became publicly available during this century. They showed conclusively that Church had been a spy since at least 1774, when Gage arrived in Boston. Among other things, Church had warned Gage in May 1775 that the rebels would seize Bunker Hill and build fortifications on Dorchester Heights; the Americans did both. Historians believe that Church was General Gage's most valuable secret agent.

Thus ended the newly emerging nation's first experience in intercepting and deciphering enemy secret correspondence. And Washington, through persistence and good fortune, caught a spy. The event played a small but noteworthy role in America winning its independence from Britain. ★

Free-lance writer Michael L. Peterson lives in Fulton, Maryland. A slightly different version of his article on Benjamin Church first appeared in a U.S. government cryptologic journal.

Recommended additional reading: Turncoats, Traitors, and Heroes by John Bakeless (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1959) contains two chapters on Church's role as a spy and amateur cryptographer.

The Cryptogram Deciphered

[PUNCTUATION AND CAPITALIZATION HAVE BEEN ADDED]

To Major Cane in Boston,
on His Majesty's Service—

I hope this will reach you; three attempts have I made without success. In effecting the last, the man was discovered in attempting his escape, but fortunately my letter was sewed in the wais[t]band of his breeches. He was confined a few days during which time you may guess my feelings. But a little art and a little cash settled the matter.

'Tis a month since my return from Philadelphia. I went by the way of Providence to visit mother. The Committee for Warlike Stores made me a formal tender of 12 pieces of cannon, 18 and 24 pounders, they having to a previous resolution to make the offer to General Ward. To make a merit of my services, I sent them down and when they received them they sent them to Stoughton to be out of danger, even tho' they had formed the resolution as I before hinted of fortifying Bunker's Hill, which together with the cowardice of the clumsy Col Gerrish and Col Scammon, were the lucky occasion of their defeat. This affair happened before my return from Phil[adelphia]. We lost 165 killed then and since dead of their wounds; 120 now lie wounded. The chief will recover. They boast you have 1400 killed & wounded in that action. You say the rebels lost 1500, I suppose, with equal truth.

The people of Connecticut are raving in the cause of liberty. A number from this colony, from the town of Stanford [Stamford], robbed the King's stores at New York with some small assistance the New Yorkers lent them. These were growing turbulent. I counted 280 pieces of cannon from 24 to 3 pounders at King's Bridge which the committee had secured for the use of the colonies. The Jersies are not a whit behind Connecticut in zeal. The Philadelphians exceed them both. I saw 2200 men in review there by General Lee, consisting of Quakers & other inhabitants in uniform, with 1000 raffle [rifle] men & 40 horse who together made a most warlike appearance. I mingled freely & frequently with the members of the Continental Congress. They were united, determined in opposition, and appeared assured of success.

Now to come home; the opposition is become formidable; 18 thousand men brave & determined with Washington and Lee at their head are no contemptible enemy. Adjutant General Gates is indefatigable in arranging the army. Provisions are very plenty. Cloaths are manufacturing in almost every town for the soldiers. Twenty tons of powder lately

arrived at Philadelphia, Connecticut & Providence. Upwards of 20 tons are now in camp. Salt petre is made in every colony. Powder mills are erected and constantly employed in Philadelphia & New York. Volunteers of the first fortunes are daily flocking to camp. One thousand raffle [rifle] men in 2 or 3 days recruits are now levying to augment the army to 22 thousand men. Ten thousand militia are now appointed in this government to appear on the first summons.

The bills of all the colonies circulate freely and are readily exchanged for cash. Add to this that, unless some plan of accommodation takes place immediately, these harbours will swarm with privateers. An army will be raised in the middle provinces to take possession of Canada. For the sake of the miserable convulsed Empire, solicit peace; repeal the acts or Britain is undone. This advice is the result of warm affection to my King & to the realm. Remember, I never deceived you. Every article here sent you is sacredly true.

The papers will announce to you that I am again a member for Boston. You will there see our motley council. A general arrangement of offices will take place, except the chief which will be suspended but for a little while to see what part Britain takes in consequence on the late Continental petition. A view to independence gr[ows] more & more general. Should Britain declare war against the colonies, they are lost forever. Should Spain declare against England, the colonies will declare a neutrality which will doubtless produce an offensive & defensive league between them. For God's sake prevent it by a speedy accommodation.

Writing this has employed a day. I have been to Salem to reconnoitre, but could not escape the geese of the capitol. Tomorrow, I set out for Newport on purpose to send you this. I write you fully, it being sca[r]cely possible to escape discovery. I am out of place here by choice; and therefore, out of pay, and determined to be so unless something is offered in my way. I wish you could contrive to write me largely in cypher, by the way of Newport, addressed to Thomas Richards, Merch[ant]. Inclose it in a cover to me, intimating that I am a perfect stranger to you, but being recommended to you as a gentleman of honour, you took the liberty to inclose that letter, intreating me to deliver it as directed; the person, as you are informed, being at Cambri[d]ge. Sign some fictitious name. This you may send to some confidential friend in Newport, to be delivered to me at Watertown. Make use of every precaution or I perish. ★



THE JUKEBOX: AMERICA'S MUSIC MACHINE

Imagine a 1946 corner drugstore: magazine rack, prescription counter, soda fountain, and booths. Wartime sugar rationing has ended and Americans are going on a soda and sundae binge. Now imagine that against the back wall stands a gleaming, five-foot-tall electronic and mechanical marvel: a cathedral-shaped assemblage of effervescent bubble tubes, rainbow-hued luminous plastic trim, fancy chrome grillwork, and a stack of shiny discs—the newest jukebox from Wurlitzer, Model 1015. For a nickel you can fill the place with the strains of Bing Crosby crooning “Personality,” Connie Boswell singing Hoagy Carmichael’s “Ole Buttermilk Sky,” Harold Arlen’s new hit, “Come Rain or Come Shine,” songs from

**One hundred
years after the
nickel-in-the-slot
machine captured
America’s fancy,
coin-operated
record players are
enjoying
new popularity.**

By JOSEPH GUSTAITIS

Annie Get Your Gun, or Charlie Parker on “A Night in Tunisia.”

If that scene triggers fond memories for you, you’re not alone, which explains why a refurbished Wurlitzer Model 1015 that cost \$750 when new (and sold for \$50 ten years later) can command more than \$12,000 today. Jukeboxes mix nostalgia, music, and jazz-age decoration into an irresistible package.

This November marks the centennial of the jukebox, the American music machine. The Amusement and Music Operators Association (AMOA), whose members own and service most of the nation’s jukeboxes, has been holding a year-long celebration that began last November with a five-hour banquet starring such erstwhile jukebox celebrities as Chubby Checker and Bobby



Bare. The Radio Corporation of America (RCA) has recognized the centennial by embellishing its 45-rpm records with a special anniversary logo. And November 1989 has been proclaimed the second annual "National Jukebox Month."

On November 23, 1889, an entrepreneur named Louis Glass installed a coin-operated Edison phonograph in the Palais Royale Saloon in San Francisco. For a nickel, four patrons using listening tubes could hear the machine's single selection. The apparatus was dubbed "Nickel-in-the-Slot" and it met with quick success.

In 1891, one machine purchased for \$200 was reportedly grossing \$500 a month. In December 1899, a census report taken in Brooklyn, New York, when authorities there were considering levying a tax on the music machines, noted that 2,827 "Nickel-in-the-Slot" machines were located in that borough alone.

1906 saw the debut of the Gabel Automatic Entertainer, a machine that used disc recordings instead of wax cylinders and offered a choice of selections. It dominated the jukebox field for about twenty years. Then, in 1927, the Automatic Music Instrument Company (AMI) introduced an electrically amplified model and sold fifty thousand of the machines in one year, inaugurating the true jukebox era.

Some music historians believe the term "jukebox" was derived from a "southern roadside tavern or 'juke

Paul Fuller of the Wurlitzer Company was the Vincent van Gogh of jukebox art, designing thirteen classic machines in eleven years.



The Wurlitzer 1941 Model 71 was a compact counter-top machine.

joint," but other scholars claim a "juke joint" or "juke house" was actually a brothel. Some trace the word to an African root, "jook," meaning "to dance" or "to jute," suggesting that black workers in jute fields carried the name to the shabby roadhouses they frequented.

During Prohibition, of course, there were no legal saloons to feature jukeboxes, though nearly every speakeasy had one. The jukebox's golden age followed the repeal of Prohibition in 1933. That Depression year was a grim one for the recording business: the industry had sales of \$75 million in 1929, only to see figures plummet to \$5 million four years later. But the thousands of tavern, candy store, pool hall, and cafe owners who installed jukeboxes rescued the record trade, which by 1938 was back to a \$26 million take. In 1940 *Billboard* magazine reported a network of 400,000

"music machines" whose appetite "necessitates the pressing of 720,000 records every week."

The big-three manufacturers of the era were Wurlitzer, Seeburg, and Rock-Ola. Wurlitzer enjoyed the services of designer Paul M. Fuller, the Vincent van Gogh of jukebox art, who designed thirteen full-sized machines in eleven years. About 1937, Fuller, along with Nils Miller of the Seeburg company, began tinkering with phenolic resins and illuminated plastics, concocting those Xanadu visions of colored lights and tubes that today mark the classic collectible jukebox.

Fuller's 1941 Model 850, pictured on page 48, is regarded by collectors as one of the highest achievements of the jukebox designer's art. Two exotic birds on the front of this Wurlitzer machine gave it the nickname "Peacock." Through a novel arrangement of revolving polarized-light acetate discs behind the peacock glass, the birds continually changed colors before the customers' eyes. The most popular of Fuller's designs, however, was the Model 1015 (page 45), featuring eight bubble tubes and translucent plastic pillars with changing colors. Wurlitzer manufactured more than 56,000 of this model in 1946 and 1947, and today the 1015 reigns as the classic example from the golden age of jukeboxes.

Many people believe "Rock-Ola" to be an ingenious adman's invented name for a jukebox, perhaps derived from "Rock and Roll," but "Rockola" is a real name, belonging to David C. Rockola, who at age ninety-two still heads his company. (He prefers to think that "Rock and Roll" was named after him, rather than the other way around.) Rockola started out making gum ball machines, branched into coin-operated scales, and lost money producing a pinball game called "Juggleball." Then he purchased the patents from the John Gabel Company and in 1935 began producing his own line of jukeboxes. Among the fabulous machines he turned out were the "Luxury Light-Up," "Spectravox," and "Rocket."

1946 and 1947 were the final years of the classic jukebox era. In 1948, the Seeburg company brought out its M100A, the first box to contain one hundred selections. The fancy

Preceding page: Wurlitzer's Model 1015, manufactured during 1946 and 1947, is the most famous—and collectible—of all classic jukeboxes. Designed by jukebox maestro Paul Fuller, the machine features amber-colored bubble tubes (containing a special liquid with a low boiling point) and translucent lucite pillars that continually change color.

Opposite: The 1941 Model 750 was the first of Wurlitzer's now-classic arched-top jukeboxes.





old Wurlitzers and Rock-Olas with only twenty-four choices grew obsolete overnight. And in 1949, right on the heels of that jolt, Fuller died.

Then, in the 1950s, Congress began investigating organized crime's involvement in the distribution of jukeboxes and records, and the industry's image tarnished. In 1978, American copyright laws designed to secure royalties for recording artists established an annual license fee for owners. In 1982, when that fee was increased to \$25 a year, the typical owner was making an estimated annual profit of about \$50, and one-third of them were just breaking even or losing money. Maintenance costs also rose, and while the price of a song went from five to twenty-five cents with little protest, customers were reluctant to pay any more, especially while other quarter-eating machines—particularly video games—were competing for their change.

Meanwhile, discotheques became chic, large-screen televisions with sports channels took over center-stage in bars and cocktail lounges, and piped-in background music pervaded restaurants. During the 1950s about 700,000 jukeboxes operated in public places in the United States; today that number has declined to approximately 225,000, according to industry officials.

But many feel that as the jukebox reaches its one-hundredth birthday, it is poised for a revival that should carry it through at least a second century. The days of the 45-rpm jukebox may be numbered, but compact disc (CD) jukeboxes holding as many as twelve hundred songs

A Wurlitzer Model 1015 that originally cost \$750 can command more than \$12,000 today.

are gaining popularity, as are video jukeboxes. Sixty-five percent of jukebox owners reported increased earnings in 1987, and the AMOA estimates that between seventy-five million and eighty million Americans listen to music on a jukebox every week—amounting to a lot of spare change.

In many businesses and homes, jukebox tastes run nostalgic. In addition to their conventional machines, virtually all of the major manufacturers (including Wurlitzer, Seeburg, and Rock-Ola) produce "classic" models combining the

old-time colored plastics with up-to-date mechanisms, including, in some instances, CD players. The Wurlitzer Company, for example, manufactures a near-exact replica of the Model 1015, featuring the famous bubble tubes and rotating color cylinders along with a transistorized one-hundred-selection record mechanism, six stereo speakers, two-hundred-watt amplifier, and infrared volume control. Produced in Germany, the "new" 1015 sells for about \$4,500; demand is such that the manufacturer currently has about five months of back orders.

Vintage jukebox collecting has also developed into a multimillion-dollar hobby during the past fifteen years. There is a lively, growing trade in the classic music machines, many of which have been located and shipped back to America from dusty warehouses as far afield as Mexico and Argentina. Now several thousand strong, the collectors have their own organization, the American Historic Jukebox Society. They keep up with the rapidly appreciating market through a jukebox newsletter and magazine, congregate in droves at several major shows around the country, and support a thriving industry of jukebox refurbishers and replica parts manufacturers.

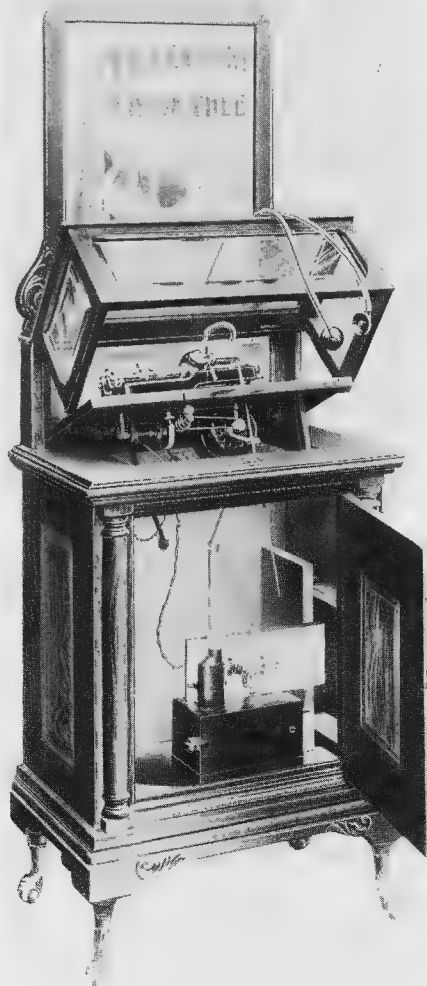
The jukebox's golden age isn't quite over yet after all. ★

Emmy-Award-winning writer Joseph Gustaitis lives in Brooklyn, New York.

Recommended additional reading: Jukebox: The Golden Age by Vincent Lynch and Bill Henkin (Berkeley, California: Lancaster Miller Publishers, 1981) features superlative color photographs of classic coin-operated record players. Also highly regarded by jukebox collectors are two illustrated histories, Juke Box Saturday Night by J. Krime (London, England: The Bucklebury Press, 1977), and Vintage Jukeboxes by Christopher Pearce (Secaucus, New Jersey: Chartwell Books, 1988). Jukebox Collector is a magazine published by Rick Botts for jukebox enthusiasts (2545 S.E. 60th Court, Des Moines, Iowa, 50317, 515-265-8324; \$25 for ten issues). Jukebox: The Golden Age is out of print, but copies of Juke Box Saturday Night and Vintage Jukeboxes are available from several sources, including the Jukebox Collector.

Opposite: The Wurlitzer Model 850, marketed in 1941, incorporated one of Paul Fuller's most imaginative lighting effects: polarized-light acetate disks behind the two peacocks created a constantly changing array of colors in the birds.

Right: The grandfather of today's jukeboxes was this Edison "nickel-in-a-slot" machine that played a single selection on a wax cylinder.



CLARA BARTON

FOUNDER OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS®

**Opposition and
inner turmoil
haunted this
tireless, driven
humanitarian
who drew
inspiration
for her life work
from Civil War
battlefields.**

**By CATHLEEN
SCHURR**

Red Cross director Clara Barton and her aides arrived in flooded Johnstown, Pennsylvania five days after the May 1889 catastrophe, on board the first train to get through to the site where more than two thousand people had died. General Daniel H. Hastings, the Pennsylvania militia officer in charge of the stricken city, had never heard of Barton or the Red Cross. He was skeptical as to how a small, cheerful sixty-seven-year-old woman in long skirts and muddy boots could help in the chaos that followed the disaster. But within a week, Hastings, like others, sought her help. And within five months, Johnstown residents had learned what Barton and the Red Cross meant to those in trouble.

At that Pennsylvania city, Barton, through the seven-year-old Red Cross, executed one of the greatest relief missions of her long career. Later she harbored vivid memories of her first day in Johnstown: "wading in the mud, climbing over broken engines, cars, heaps of iron rollers, broken timbers, wrecks of houses, bent railway tracks tangled with piles of iron wires, bands of workmen, squads of militia and getting around the bodies of dead animals, and often people being borne

away, the smouldering [sic] fires and drizzling rain. . . ." Nor could she forget the thirty-foot heaps of rubbish, the thousands dead in the river beds, and the twenty thousand with no food but bread.

Improvising as always, Barton began working out of an abandoned railroad car, then from a tent, using a dry goods packing crate as a desk. Here she marshalled supplies and workers: the Philadelphia Red Cross responded with doctors and nurses to establish the area's only official field hospital; Iowa and Illi-

nois sent lumber for shelters; and others contributed desperately needed clothing. In the beginning everything was distributed by hand; three weeks passed before a cart could get through the mud. From her makeshift desk, Barton directed a half-million-dollar relief program with about fifty workers. She answered requests, mounted a vast publicity campaign, and ultimately helped about twenty-five thousand flood victims.

For the first time at a disaster site, the Red Cross built shelters—three "Red Cross hotels" consisting of long central communal halls flanked by suites of private rooms furnished with pieces salvaged from the heaps of debris. (Eventually, wood from the housing units was shipped to Washington, D.C., and in 1891 portions of it were used in building a new Red Cross headquarters in Glen Echo, Maryland.)

When Barton left Johnstown, the local newspapers eulogized her—"We bow to the idea which brought her here. God and humanity!"—and the governor added his public praise. Grateful Johnstown women gave Barton a pendant encrusted with diamonds and sapphires, which she added to her growing collection of medals and decorations.

Contrary to popular belief, Bar-



COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS, WASHINGTON, D.C.



Useful works marked Clara Barton's life of service from an early age, assuring her a lasting legacy of humanitarianism. This daguerreotype, the earliest known photograph of Barton, was likely taken during her studies at progressive Clinton Liberal Institute following a successful teaching career.

ton was not a nurse, though her name is forever associated with the care of the ill and suffering. Although she is world-renowned for founding the American Red Cross, lesser known is Barton's active participation in many of the other major issues of nineteenth-century America: equal rights for women and blacks, free public education, foreign aid, and international diplomacy. Barton knew and worked with nine U.S. presidents, the Russian czar, the Austrian emperor, the Duke and Duchess of Baden, and countless cabinet ministers, generals, army surgeons, and government officials all over the world. She was the most decorated woman in American history and the first woman ever to receive Germany's Iron Cross and Russia's Imperial Cross.

Barton was known in her day, and in the legend that survives, as a bright and cheerful angel. But behind this facade was a troubled soul, a woman of massive contradictions subject throughout her life to crippling depression and illness.

Beginnings

Clarissa Harlowe Barton was born in the small rural village of North Oxford, Massachusetts on Christmas Day 1821. The fifth and last child of Sarah and Captain Stephen Barton, she was ten years younger than her closest sibling, Sally.

Her mother was a strong, iron-faced woman with a violent temper, whose eccentricities, among them unforgiving parsimony and profanity, were well-known. A story goes that after a grandchild viewed Sarah in her coffin, the child reported: "I saw grandma and she never swore once."

Despite her erratic ways, Sarah Barton was an "involved" woman, an early abolitionist and supporter of women's rights. Sarah taught young Clara the domestic arts: cooking, sewing, weaving, soap-making, and gardening. These skills were of inestimable value to her in later life.

Clara's father, born in 1774, had served in "Mad" Anthony Wayne's army during the Indian Wars of the Northwest Territory. He was committed to the liberal views of the Universalist church and to public charity and philanthropy. His twin occupations were farming and milling, but his greatest joy was the military, an interest he early transferred to daughter Clara, who preferred war stories to Mother Goose.

Clara was a shy child among her grown-up siblings, anxious to please and morbidly afraid of "being a burden, or giving trouble." Despite her timidity, however, Barton early learned to identify with male accomplishments. She became a tomboy, proud that her father said she was "more boy than girl." Instead of dolls, she played at soldiers, rode bareback before she was five, played ball, and joined her male cousins in excursions and adventures around the countryside, exhilarated by daring and danger.

But it was through useful work that the young Clara began a pattern of conduct she would repeat

throughout her long life. As a child she performed endless farm and domestic chores. When she was eleven, she nursed her brother David when he suffered severe headaches and fever following an accident. For two years Clara rarely left his side, giving him medicines, applying "great loathsome crawling leeches," and dressing his blisters.

Once David recovered, Clara found other ways to be of service, briefly working in the family mill, caring for Sally's children, and helping to nurse poor families in the community. Her future was decided when a visiting phrenologist told Sarah Barton that Clara's sensitive nature would always remain, but that she had all the qualities of a teacher.

Teacher and Office Worker

Barton was still in her teens when she began teaching in the Oxford school. She soon earned a reputation for discipline and scholarship. Barton treated her students as individuals, dealing with each according to his needs. They were her "boys" Barton said, and scores of affectionate letters to her years after when she had become famous attest to how much she had affected them. As her work continued, she grew more self-assured, less introverted—confident enough to demand pay equal to a man's. She might work for nothing, she said, but if paid, "I shall never do a man's work for less than a man's pay."

In 1850, when she was twenty-nine and after more than ten years of successful teaching, Barton enrolled at Clinton, New York's Liberal Institute, almost two hundred miles away from Oxford, to further her own education. Although Clinton with its progressive ideas on women's education was a good choice for Barton, she ran out of funds before she completed her studies.

Barton returned to teaching, first at Hightstown, New Jersey and later at nearby Bordentown. Accustomed to the Massachusetts tradition of free education, Barton persuaded the school board to establish a free school, improve the curriculum, and install her as teacher. School enrollment jumped from six to six hundred in the first year, and a second school had to be added.

But instead of Barton, town officials appointed a dictatorial male to head the new school, classifying her only as a "female assistant" with a salary of \$250 annually to her chief's \$650. Barton and other instructors chafed under their supervisor's strict rule, and the teachers' squabbles soon became public. Under the pressure of rivalry and the collapse of her hopes, Barton became ill, a pattern that was often repeated during other stressful periods of her life. She resigned.

Next she moved to Washington, D.C. There Barton became a recording clerk in the U.S. Patent Office—and one of the first women to be so employed by the federal government. Commissioner of Patents Charles Mason, impressed by her exquisite penmanship and trustworthy character (confidentiality was important at patents), hired her at a \$1,400 annual salary—equivalent to that of male clerks. In 1854 this was good pay even for men.

There were few women in government offices at the time, and male workers were generally uncomfortable in their presence. Secretary of the Interior Robert McClelland, under whom the patent office operated, said there was an "obvious impropriety in the mixing of the sexes within the walls of a public office." Mason was careful not to advertise Barton's presence; her name did not appear on the congressional list during the six years she worked for the government.

When Mason resigned, Barton lost her status and was relegated to being a "copyist" at home. Although McClelland disapproved of women in offices, he had no objection to their working at home for much less pay.

Later, however, Mason came out of retirement to rescue the patent office, where fraud and alcoholism had become rampant. He reinstated Barton to help him sort out the difficulties.

Barton's reappearance further annoyed already disgruntled male employees. Daily she faced a gauntlet of jeering men who spit tobacco juice at her and blew smoke in her face. And like all women employed in Washington in the mid-nineteenth century, her morals became an issue. Popular opinion held that "nice" women did not work for money;

Barton was not a nurse, though her name is forever associated with the care of the ill and suffering.

therefore office women must be of low character, given to promiscuity, drink, and debauchery. Rumors of lax sexual conduct by Barton surfaced. Such talk was to be repeated throughout her life (even when she was in her eighties) as she appeared in places and situations thought to be unsuitable for women.

Barton's life in Washington was socially pleasant, however, and she advanced her political education by friendships with important political figures and visits to the Senate gallery. Senator Henry Wilson, chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, became her lifelong friend and ally, visiting Barton almost daily.

The "Homely" Angel

The Confederate attack on Fort Sumter in April 1861 changed forever the course of Barton's life. Soon after, the Massachusetts Sixth Regiment was attacked by secessionist mobs while traveling through Baltimore. The regiment, temporarily housed in the U.S. Senate, included Barton's former pupils—her "boys" and friends—and she rushed to help them. The soldiers' luggage had been seized in the Baltimore riots, and they needed such things as towels, blankets, handker-

Provost Marshal's Office,
Head Quarters Department Virginia and North Carolina,
FORT MONROE, VA.

Guards

To
and return

BY command of MAJOR GENERAL BUTLER

Learning of the suffering on Civil War battlefields, Barton, then forty-one, headed for the front in 1862. On her way she encountered discouraging difficulties and had to plead with Army officials for passes such as these. Travel permits only to an unengaged army in camp were finally issued, but Barton "broke the shackles and went to the field" with her desperately needed supplies.

Headquarters U. S. Forces,
HILTON HEAD, FORT PILLSBURY, S. C.

Permission is granted to bearer

to pass to

San Augustine, Florida and return on

BY ORDER OF COL. WILLIAM B. BARTON

Frank Magee
1st Lt. 10th Regt. N.Y. Inf.

chiefs, kitchen utensils, candles, and preserved food. Barton quickly collected and delivered these items.

On her own initiative, Barton then began a year-long campaign to solicit and collect supplies for future needs. Her home became a warehouse for ordinary necessities as well as medical and nursing supplies. Eventually she had to rent additional storage space. She soon became a familiar sight on Washington's streets, her small frame bouncing uneasily atop a lumbering wagon loaded with goods. But as the wounded began to pour into the city, and as she read reports of the suffering at the front, she wanted to do more. "I'm well and strong and young enough to go to the front," she said. "If I can't be a soldier, I'll help soldiers."

Clara was forty-one when she went to the battlefields, after first

returning to Oxford to receive her dying father's blessing and his gold masonic badge, which she carried throughout the war. But Barton did not reach the war theater without discouraging difficulties. After she pleaded without success for a pass to the front from one army official after another, a permit was finally issued only for travel to an unengaged army in camp. Undeterred, Clara "broke the shackles and went to the field" anyway with her sorely needed supplies.

In August 1862, dressed in a jacket, kerchief, and a dark skirt with no crinolines to hinder movement, Barton rode to the front near Culpeper, Virginia with her four-mule team and supplies a few days after the Battle of Cedar Mountain. The North had been badly beaten and had suffered several thousand casualties. Surgeon James L. Dunn

watched in astonishment as Barton, arriving at midnight at the hospital tent, delivered her wagonload of precious surgical dressings and supplies. She stayed to hand out shirts and soup to the wounded.

Dunn, in a letter to his wife, which was later unofficially publicized in newspapers throughout the country, wrote, "I thought that night if heaven ever sent out a homely angel, she must be one, her assistance was so timely." His original letter clearly shows he used the word "homely." (Apparently Barton or one of her followers did not like the connotation, for the letters "m" and "e" are carefully blocked out in the clippings she kept.) So it was that Barton came to be known as the "holy" angel, "the true heroine of the age," as Dunn described her.

In the fields Barton cooked gruel, baked hardtack, aided doctors, and distributed medical supplies. One doctor described her "... with her sleeves rolled up ... her dress skirt pinned around her waist ... a lady of pleasing countenance ... besides a huge iron kettle ... over a roaring fire, using a ladle to stir ... a barrelful of soup."

Her field work was marked by her inventiveness and timeliness as trains and wagons brought her bandages, drugs, coffee, wine, brandy, cans of soup, beef, jars of jellies, juices, and crackers.

Barton was in the field for subsequent battles: Fairfax Court House, Chantilly, and Antietam. And at Fredericksburg the carnage of more than twelve thousand men lost by Union forces would remain forever in her mind. Barton recalled piles of amputated arms, legs, and feet at the door of Lacy Mansion, which, used as a hospital, had floors so slippery with blood that Barton had to wring it from her skirts before she could walk.

In spring 1864, she was again at the front in the campaigns of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania where more than fifty thousand were killed or wounded. Next she worked out of invalid camps receiving wounded from Petersburg and other battles near Richmond. The controversial General Benjamin F. Butler, who became a lifelong friend, appointed her supervisor of nurses for the Army of the James. "Honor any re-

quest Miss Barton makes without question," he ordered. "She outranks me,"

Barton organized nurses and directed daily activities. She wrote letters for the soldiers and tended to their needs, working at her own frenzied pace. She refused to delegate work; she could not supervise without dictating, and she would not accept criticism or suggestions.

The difficulties were exacerbated by the need to be constantly on the move before the enemy: "I cannot tell you how many times I have moved with my whole family of 1,000 or 1,500," she wrote her cousin. Barton made an important contact at this time, nursing a wounded young Swiss soldier named Jules Golay, who would later figure in Barton's Red Cross work.

As the war drew to a close, she was drained and exhausted. Her Civil War record was marked by unflinching courage under dangerous and difficult conditions. Although a Union sympathizer, she had treated soldiers on both sides with the same touching compassion.

When the war ended, Barton sought a new cause. Postwar conditions presented another need: locating thousands of missing soldiers. Through her patron, Senator Wilson, Barton received President Abraham Lincoln's authorization to conduct the search that led to the establishment of a National Cemetery at the notorious Confederate prison

"I'm well and strong and young enough to go to the front," said Barton. "If I can't be a soldier, I'll help soldiers."

in Andersonville, Georgia. Throughout the war, Barton had listed the names of missing, wounded, and dying soldiers. Now, using regional newspaper advertising, she published long lists of men whose families had inquired about them. The response was overwhelming.

Barton realized the value of public support for her work, and she undertook a series of lecture tours, covering the missing soldiers search and such topics as "How the Republic Was Saved," "Work and Incidents of Army Life," and "War Without the Tinsel." Despite chronic stage fright, she captivated audiences, moving them to tears and cheers. She kept to a grueling schedule despite rain and snow, at the mercy of the primitive transportation of the time.

The psychological and physical strains took their toll. Barton suffered recurrent earaches, bronchial distress, and sore throats. During a lecture in Portland, Maine one snowy night in 1868, her voice gave out and she was unable to utter a sound. Barton was on the verge of the major collapse of her life.

She returned to Washington, D.C., deeply depressed. A year later she was still too ill to speak at the twentieth anniversary of the first feminist convention. Under her doctor's order for total rest, Barton sailed for Europe with her sister Sally.

The Geneva Treaty and the Red Cross

Barton's "rest" cure involved traveling all over the continent. At Golay's family home in Switzerland, she met Dr. Louis Appia, a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross. This organization had grown out of the 1864 Geneva Convention, which advocated humane treatment of sick and wounded during wartime and equal treatment for both sides. The United States was the only major nation that had not signed the Geneva Convention, though the American government had been approached at least three times.

The Red Cross had first been envisioned by Jean Henri Dunant, a Swiss who had been shocked at the horrors he saw at the 1859 battle of

Barton cared for Civil War soldiers both in the field and in invalid camps such as those that received wounded from Petersburg and other battles near Richmond, Virginia. Although sympathetic to the Union cause, Barton treated members of both armies with equal compassion.



Solferino in northern Italy. There he aided the suffering and was touched by Italian peasant women murmuring "tutti fratelli" ("all are brothers") while caring for the hated Austrians.

Like many others, Barton was immensely moved by Dunant's book *A Memory of Solferino*, and she determined to support its aims. But before she could act she again became ill and despondent, moaning over her "useless" days and unproductivity. When Appia invited her to join the International Red Cross relief in the Franco-Prussian war, her spirits rose, hearing "the bugle call to arms . . . and it nerved me to action for which the physical strength had long ceased to exist."

She worked first for the Red Cross in Basel, France, where well-stocked warehouses and ready-for-action volunteers suggested a model organization. Next, she set out for the front with a young Swiss companion, Antoinette Margot, who acted as interpreter.

According to Barton's diary, the two women failed to reach the front in the Franco-Prussian war, but publicly she asserted she had been with the fighting men—an example of a lifelong predilection for amending facts. Barton *did* serve in another equally important area: helping the destitute and starving civilian population, under the patronage of Grand Duchess Louise of Baden, daughter of Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm I. The Duchess, a noted

A surgeon at the Battle of Cedar Mountain wrote of Barton: "I thought that night if heaven ever sent out a homely angel, she must be one, her assistance was so timely."

philanthropist and promoter of women in charitable ventures, became a lifelong friend, showering Barton with gifts, precious jewels, and medals.

After establishing a women's sewing center in Strasbourg, France, Barton and Margot traveled to Paris to aid the poor there. They then went to the Franco-German border to help civilians desperate for work and money. Once again, Barton's health began to erode; depression, backaches, and failing eyesight resulted. She went to England to recover, but there only added chronic bronchitis to her ailments. In 1873,

physically broken, she returned to America with her niece Mamie.

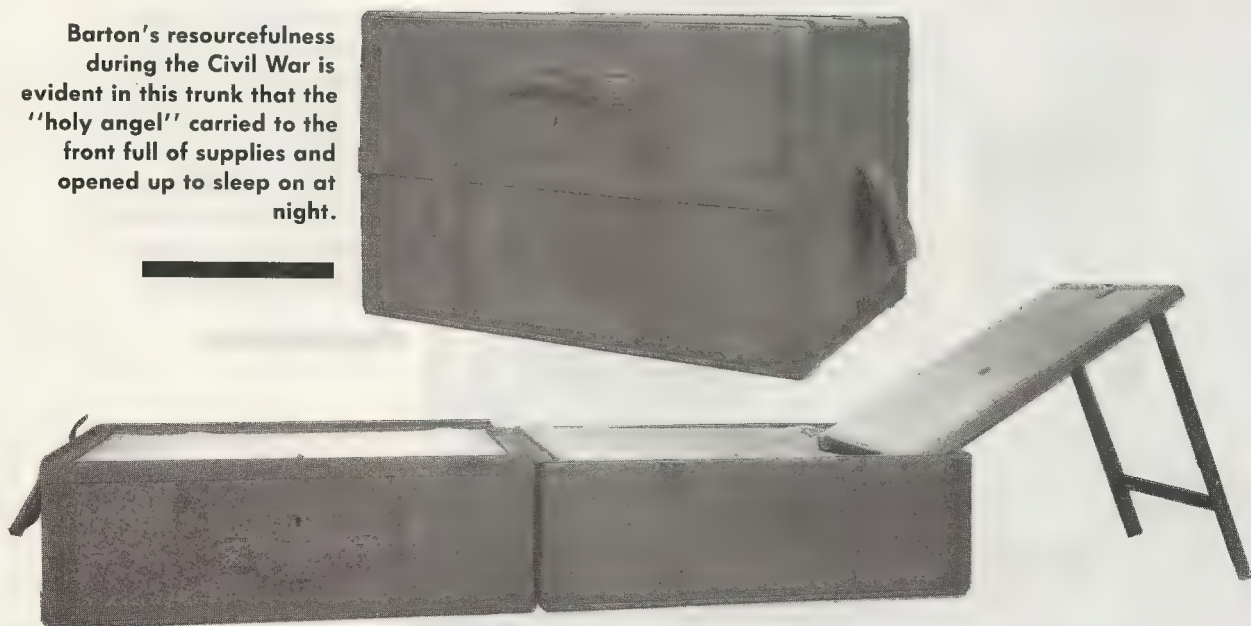
Barton had once again driven herself to exhaustion, working long hours under difficult conditions without enough sleep or food. She was in a Washington, D.C. hospital when her closest sister, Sally, died of cancer. Unable to reach her in time, Barton suffered another breakdown. She collapsed again when her dear friend and political patron, the former senator, now Vice President Wilson, died a year later in 1875. For months Barton clung to her bed, sobbing and whimpering, an emotional and physical wreck.

Dansville

Barton's rehabilitation began in a flourishing sanatorium in Dansville, New York, a small town near the Finger Lakes. The facility was run by new-age thinker Dr. James Jackson and his adopted daughter, Dr. Harriet Austin, who became Barton's close friend. The sanatorium followed the so-called "water-cure," emphasizing wearing of uncorseted clothing, exercising, intellectual stimulation, and a diet of whole grains, fresh fruits, and vegetables.

Barton's improved health led her to buy a house in Dansville, where she lived intermittently for the next ten years. From her new home she began an intensive campaign for ratification of the Geneva Convention and the establishment of an American Red Cross.

Barton's resourcefulness during the Civil War is evident in this trunk that the "holy angel" carried to the front full of supplies and opened up to sleep on at night.



For fourteen years American officials had resisted signing the Geneva Convention, interpreting such action as contrary to the Monroe Doctrine that prohibited foreign "entanglements." By discrediting earlier Red Cross promoters, Barton received official sanction from the International Red Cross as the sole U.S. representative. She began lecturing and writing, churning out press releases and informational pamphlets, including a booklet titled *What the Red Cross Is*, which emphasized the neutral nature of the organization's potential relief work in peacetime disasters. She installed her nephew, Stephen E. Barton, as her aide. Together they petitioned Presidents Rutherford B. Hayes and James A. Garfield. The Bartons were well received by Garfield's new secretary of state, James G. Blaine, and plans were made to submit the Geneva Convention to the Senate for ratification. Barton lobbied the senators.

In June 1881, Barton and a few friends announced the formation of the first American Association of the Red Cross, with twenty-two charter members. Barton was president, and the organization's goal was ratification of the Geneva Treaty. In August, Dansville residents established the first local chapter. Soon, with Susan B. Anthony's help, other chapters were established in upstate New York.

In Dansville Barton met a shy young chemistry teacher named Julian Hubbell, who was to become one of the most important people in her life and that of the Red Cross. Hubbell had idolized Barton from his boyhood in Iowa and now offered her his help. When she told him to get a medical degree, Hubbell quit teaching and enrolled in the University of Michigan medical school. Dr. Hubbell became Barton's lifelong foot soldier and aide. He referred to himself as Barton's "boy," and he called her "Mamie." Later, as the chief Red Cross field agent, Hubbell was involved in more direct relief work than Barton herself.

President Garfield's assassination in July 1881 was a tragedy for the country and a potential catastrophe for Barton's new organization. But Garfield's successor, former Vice President Chester A. Arthur, an-



nounced his unconditional support for "that humane and commendable engagement" in his first annual message to Congress. With presidential support, the Senate's March 1882 vote in favor of ratification was unanimous. It was a major achievement in Clara Barton's long career. She wept because she had waited so long "and got so weak and broke that she could not even feel glad."

New Challenges and Problems

Not only had Barton established the internationally recognized Red Cross in America, she had vanquished competing organizations. With her new success, Barton began building an entourage from which she demanded loyalty, obedience,

Portraitist Mathew Brady in about 1865 captured Clara Barton's radiant newfound confidence gained on Civil War battlefields. Another cause—locating thousands of missing soldiers—captured her post-war enthusiasm.

Clara Barton called to order a May 21, 1881 meeting (notes from which appear here) of those interested in forming an American Red Cross. The following month she and some friends announced the creation of such an organization, with twenty-two charter members over whom Barton was president.

Proceedings of the American Association of the Red Cross, - Washington D.C.

Meeting of May 21st 1881

Miss Barton called the meeting to order by stating the object for which it was called, the nature of the business before it, etc. etc. and moved that Judge William Lawrence be called to the chair. Carried. Judge Lawrence on taking the chair thanked those present for the honor conferred in calling upon him to preside at the first meeting of those interested in organizing a Red Cross Society in the United States at which a definite step was to be taken in the direction of creating here an organized Sanitary Commission, such as had carried succor to the suffering in many climes and whose beneficent mission was being felt wherever civilization extended. Robert J. Clinton was named for Secretary of the meeting but declined to serve. Mr. Clinton moved that Walter F. Phillips be selected as Secretary. Carried. Judge Lawrence inquired if the Committee on the Constitution was prepared to report progress. Miss Clara Barton replied in the affirmative and stated that the Constitution had been drafted and suggested that as good an idea of the nature of the contemplated organization could be gathered from that instrument as from any source of which she knew. The Secretary of the meeting at the instance of Mr. Bates

and total acceptance of her rule. Some aides adored her. There was always the infinitely patient Hubbell, who slavishly and unquestioningly did Barton's bidding. But other aides called her "The Great I Am" or "The Queen."

Barton did not work easily with others; she could not give or take orders, and she would not tolerate criticism. Building up the organization required administrative skills for which she was temperamentally unsuited. Her plan was for loosely organized local Red Cross chapters with a small national group at the head. But local societies were slow to form, and either could not make a move without Barton or wanted to act autonomously in emergencies. Part of the slow growth was due to the peacetime absence of urgency. But Barton's inability to delegate caused endless problems.

Then several natural calamities helped spur the growth of the American Red Cross. The Mississippi and Ohio rivers flooded disastrously in 1882. Hundreds were homeless and destitute; property damage was extensive, and repeated floodings washed out replanted crops. The

Red Cross delivered aid immediately, even before the government could arrive.

In 1883, at a crucial juncture in the Red Cross's development, Barton accepted a position as superintendent of the Women's Reformatory Prison in Sherborn, Massachusetts. She went reluctantly, chiefly as a political favor to her old friend and supporter from Civil War days, General Butler, now Massachusetts governor. She found the job lonely and depressing, "the most foolhardy thing" she ever did, and was glad to resign when Butler was not re-elected.

As always during Barton's absences, the American Red Cross had suffered. Correspondence had piled up, requests about forming chapters had gone unanswered; one Philadelphia group thought the organization was defunct and wrote the international office in Geneva to revive it.

But no sooner was Barton back at headquarters, when, in February 1884, the Ohio River flooded again. Barton took to the field for another three months. The river area had been devastated, whole towns swept away. Property damage was acute.

Setting up warehouses in Ohio and Indiana, Barton hired a crew and a steamer, the *Josh V. Throop*, to travel up and down the river distributing food, fuel, clothing, blankets, and small but vital essentials such as scissors, needles, and thread. One victim said the *Throop* came out of the mist and sleet like a phantom ship, an answer to a prayer.

In the spring, Barton hired another relief ship, the *Mattie Belle*, to travel the Mississippi, distributing fodder for starving animals, lumber, and tools with which to rebuild. Barton, aware of the dramatic appeal of the mission, mounted a widespread publicity campaign, writing some of the most poignant human interest stories herself. More than \$175,000 in donations poured in as a result; in the two previous years, the total had been only \$26,000.

But trouble brewed aboard the *Mattie Belle*. The St. Louis Red Cross chapter president reported that long stretches of the river were passed without supplies being distributed. He was also concerned about the project's muddled financial state. Most distressing was Barton's obvious physical exhaustion; at one point she directed the expedition from her bed. Aides worried about her health, but Barton would not acknowledge her weak condition.

Back in Washington, D.C., she tried to regain her strength, but when the secretary of state urged her to attend the Third International Conference of the Red Cross in Geneva as the country's official representative, she could not refuse. It was the first time a woman had ever been appointed to such a diplomatic mission. In Barton's honor, an amendment at the conference committing the international organization to provide relief in peacetime disasters was called the "American amendment." Her mission to Geneva was a personal triumph.

In 1888, a yellow fever epidemic in Jacksonville, Florida marked the first use of trained Red Cross nurses, both black and white. Barton, not immune to the fever, called on a Louisiana chapter member, Col. F.R. Southmayd, to replace her as leader of the relief project.

The Louisiana nurses from the Red Cross's New Orleans chapter

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Although renowned as American Red Cross founder, Barton was also a dedicated advocate of human rights and equality who lectured on many vital topics of the day. She believed that her individual actions and attitudes demonstrated that women equaled men in intellect, abilities, and courage. Notable nineteenth-century reformers such as Frederick Douglass, Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, and William Lloyd Garrison often appeared in company with her.

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Mrs. Zerelda G. Wallace, of Indiana.

Mrs. Lucy Stone,

Mrs. Mary A. Livermore,

Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton,

Miss Susan B. Anthony,

Miss Clara Barton,

Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney,

Miss Mary F. Eastman,

and others.

THE FOLLOWING GENTLEMEN HAVE ALSO
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Rev. Charles G. Ames,

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Every one of the 900 supper tickets has been sold, and no more can be issued, but admission tickets (with reserved seats) can be obtained to the lower balcony for 50 cents, or to the upper balcony for 25 cents each, at the Ticket Office, Music Hall, or at the office of the WOMAN'S JOURNAL, 3 Park Street.

No such gathering of distinguished women has occurred in Boston for years, and as there is a great demand for tickets application should be made promptly in order to secure seats.

MUSIC BY THE MARIAN OSGOOD ORCHESTRA.

taught how to plant and grow their own vegetables. Eager workers, they dug drainage ditches to prepare the soil for planting, returning borrowed tools each night to the Red Cross. Volunteers taught them financial responsibility concepts and provided medical attention for more than two thousand malaria cases.

Barton was a celebrity; parents named babies after her, children tagged behind her. Many, who recalled her nursing care thirty years before, walked miles to see her again. One old man, asked on what he depended for the winter, replied "God and Miss Barton."

Opposition Grows

But criticism of Barton was mounting, both within and outside the Red Cross. The powerful Philadelphia chapter, which had refused to cooperate with her on two occasions including the Johnstown flood, began communicating directly with the international society in Geneva, urging an investigation of Barton's activities.

Primary criticism alleged Barton's unaccountability, and inaccuracy in the official reports she did make. The *Review of Reviews* in 1894 reported that it could not get clear, itemized financial statements or specific details about Red Cross work.

Much of the criticism about accountability was justified; Barton kept Red Cross financial records on scraps of paper and in scattered notebooks, omitting important details and explanations. Records for Johnstown, for example, had receipts without amounts, and official reports of expenditures there varied from \$40,000 to \$250,000. In Geneva, the International Red Cross expressed dismay at the situation, warning that relations with the parent body were reaching a breaking point.

The confusion caused dwindling contributions; businessmen increasingly withdrew support. Personal attacks on Barton multiplied: she was a tyrant, she lacked administrative skills, she was too old. Barton, demoralized as always by criticism, considered the critics enemies, and marshalled her forces against them. In 1895, her supporters unanimously elected her "permanent" president of the American Red Cross. Barton replied to the interna-

had had wide exposure to the deadly disease, and, for the most part, did heroic work. Some nurses, unfortunately, were less admirable, refusing to work for three dollars a day when the hospitals paid four. One got drunk; another was arrested for theft; one vanished with Red Cross funds; and several were branded as prostitutes and ordered to leave.

Southmayd's inability to cope with the local problems and his refusal to dismiss the offenders resulted in widespread unfavorable publicity about Red Cross nurses, haunting them for years to come. New York City papers ran stories about "Drunken Red Cross Nurses" who had come to New Orleans to "prey on the sick." The

Florida experience strengthened Barton's determination to take field command herself, as she did the following year at Johnstown.

In 1893, a hurricane devastated the Sea Islands off the South Carolina coast, killing five thousand and leveling crops, buildings, and boats. Barton agreed to deliver relief, though reluctantly, because resources were limited. With the region desolate and the largely black population demoralized, the task was gargantuan. The islands stretched out for a hundred miles, with small boats the only transport. Lack of food was a major problem; the island people grew little of their own.

Islanders were given seeds and

tional society's objections by saying that she was "too burdened to fuss with accurate reports" and that her "extreme modesty and humility" prevented her from making a full statement about her accomplishments.

Beginning in 1894, the American press had publicized barbarous warfare atrocities committed by Turkish Moslems against the largely Christian Armenians who were resisting incorporation into the Ottoman Empire. When U.S. missionaries were harassed while aiding victims, American indignation exploded into action.

Barton was reluctant to undertake the relief work because of lack of funds and the uncertainty of the Turkish reception, given the American criticism. A special relief committee raised the necessary funds, but Turkey agreed to the mission only on condition that Barton work as an individual, not as a representative of any official body, including the Red Cross.

From Constantinople in 1896, the seventy-four-year-old Barton sent relief teams into the field, where they found appalling conditions. Victims had been robbed of basic necessities: pots, water bags, hand

With her new success, Barton began building an entourage from which she demanded loyalty, obedience, and acceptance of her rule.

tools, and looms. Typhoid and typhus were spreading, dysentery and diarrhea were rampant. The place was full of "walking skeletons," one doctor reported. Barton's medical teams in five short weeks prevented a potentially catastrophic epidemic. Field workers set about rehabilitation—distributing seeds and teaching hygiene, sewing, and tool-making.

Barton and her workers faced innumerable problems: language barriers, suspicion of foreigners, long

delays in communication with the field, and threats to their safety. Difficulties with the Turkish government, questions from American fund raisers, and the fact that Barton aided Turks as well as Armenians, led to further criticism from home. But in five months, Barton and her followers helped thousands. Missionaries as well as the Turkish government praised and honored her work.

In 1898 Barton was in Cuba, aiding victims of a rebellion against Spanish rule. The insurgents, *reconcentrados* as they were called, had been driven into concentration camps where filthy conditions, lack of food, water, and medical attention prevailed. "The massacres of Armenia seemed merciful in comparison," Barton reported.

While Barton was in Cuba, the battleship USS *Maine* was blown up in Havana Harbor. Barton's famous wire to President William McKinley, "I am with the wounded," was factually inaccurate, but she was in a strategic position to offer aid in field and boat hospitals. War was declared in April 1898, and once again, Barton found alarming inadequacies in medical and relief supplies.

Improvising as always, Barton, assisting flood survivors at Johnstown, Pennsylvania in May 1889, first worked out of an abandoned railroad car, then from a tent (where a dry goods packing crate served as a desk), then finally the warehouse space pictured here.





The eighty-one-year-old Barton traveled to Russia in 1902 to attend her last international Red Cross conference at St. Petersburg. Here flanked by B. F. Tillinghast and Russian Admiral N. Kaznakoff, the diminutive American Red Cross founder conceals tension created at the meeting by the attendance of a critical "remonstrants" representative.

Meanwhile, the powerful New York chapter of the Red Cross jockeyed for position as the *sole* government relief agency. The New York Relief Committee was run by professionals critical of Barton's small force and her casual, independent style that had changed little since the Civil War. The New Yorkers had warehoused supplies, and had two hundred relief auxiliaries, a hospital, and a nursing school. Barton's relief ship, the *SS State of Texas*, on the other hand, was held in Florida for nearly two months before being cleared to enter the Cuban war zone.

Once in Cuba, Barton as usual aided both sides. Supplies had to be ferried in on flat, skimpy scows during the few hours that the tide al-

The bitter brew of half-truths, petty gossip, lies, rumors, and inventions about the Red Cross founder served only to sensationalize and distort the real problems.

lowed; men waded waist-deep to land basic foods. Doctors performed more than four hundred operations in two days. And at seventy-seven, Barton again worked sixteen hours a day. Malaria, typhoid, dysentery, and yellow fever broke out both in recruit camps and American bases. Some of Barton's own staff contracted the fever and were hospitalized.

The national Red Cross ultimately distributed about six thousand tons of provisions, but the New York Relief Committee contributed much more, and sent a greater number of trained medical personnel. The army, siding with neither faction, offered little cooperation, and the surgeon general adamantly refused to allow women nurses in the field. Thus the Cuba relief effort fell short of its potential and ended with a divided American Red Cross.

As always, Barton responded to all criticism with anger, accusing even her devoted nephew-aide, Stéphé, of trying to bypass her authority. She issued a directive that all Red Cross doctors and nurses be approved by her personally, and forbade all employees from even discussing Red Cross affairs with outsiders. She refused to consider reorganization.

Retreating to her home in suburban Glen Echo, Maryland, then also the official Red Cross headquarters,

Barton turned to writing a long-overdue account of the Red Cross and its activities. A cabal of trusted writing associates helped her produce a long, haphazard, poorly organized work titled *The Red Cross in Peace and War* that in no way substituted for missing field reports or financial accounts.

Soon she returned to Cuba, where people still suffered. Her trip became a personal public relations mission as she toured hospitals and orphanages—a little old lady in fussy black silk and a quaint flower-trimmed bonnet. She was cheered by everyone but her own staff, who saw her presence as mistrust, and her manner dictatorial and old-fashioned. She believed they were plotting against her, and returned to America depressed and exhausted.

The American National Red Cross was finally incorporated in 1900 by Congressional action, securing its national position with a federal charter. Despite criticism, Barton, nearing seventy-nine, was again elected Red Cross president.

In September 1900, a brutal hurricane swept across the Gulf of Mexico, savaging Galveston, Texas, among other coastal areas. About six thousand were killed. Hospitals, homes, and communication lines were destroyed. Barton arrived to assist the devastated city, buried in thick smog from huge piles of burning bodies and trash. Corpses dumped into the gulf floated back; they had to be burned. The peculiar sickening smell of burning flesh “became horribly familiar . . .” Barton wrote: “. . . for two months we lived in it and breathed it, day after day.” Ill and exhausted, Barton directed relief work from her hotel bed. But she arranged for an orphanage, shelter, and daily hot soup for the disaster victims. As always, Red Cross articles were practical, geared to rehabilitation and recovery: seeds, clothing, lumber, and bandages.

Crisis and Defeat

In Washington, the simmering Red Cross conflict rapidly reached a boil. Chief among the critics was powerful society leader and humanitarian Mabel T. Boardman, a woman of haughty, regal presence who spearheaded the attack on Barton.

Boardman and Barton were diametric opposites in taste, training, and temperament. Barton was a self-made woman who worked for a living. Boardman derived her prominence from her father's position and wealth. Boardman was elegant; Barton was frumpy. Boardman, who walked easily among the powerful, was a formidable foe and, more important, a skillful organizer. She had joined the Red Cross in 1900, serving on the financial committee, where she soon began collecting information about mismanagement and inaccountability. With easy access to prominent individuals in New York and Washington, Boardman set about reform. When Barton was unanimously reelected Red Cross president in 1901, Boardman was on the executive committee and ten other Barton opponents were made national directors. This faction was known as the “remonstrants.”

In 1902 Barton was again summoned by the secretary of state to attend the International Red Cross conference, this time in St. Petersburg, Russia. A representative from the “remonstrants” was also present, creating tense social moments.

Back home, Barton marshalled her forces to meet the opposition at the 1902 annual meeting, drafting new by-laws abolishing the directorial board, and giving the president total control over appointments. She collected enough proxy votes to support her position, and she was elected president once again, this time for life.

Boardman's faction now took up the anti-Barton battle with a vengeance, with a letter to President Theodore Roosevelt (signed by his sister Anna Roosevelt, among others) complaining about Barton's high-handed tactics at the annual meeting and her absolute rule. Roosevelt's reply censured Barton on both counts, and in a stunning blow he resigned as honorary chairman of the Red Cross advisory board, taking his cabinet with him. Crushed by the president's rebuff, Barton defended her use of proxies and begged him to reconsider. When twenty-three dissatisfied Red Cross members petitioned Congress demanding reorganization, Barton suspended them all, including

Roosevelt's sister.

Boardman, who until the suspensions had worked primarily for reorganization within the Red Cross while urging Barton to accept an honorary presidency with an annuity, now loosed a virulent, full-scale personal attack on Barton. She enlisted many who had been estranged from Barton to tell their stories; Boardman recorded every rumor about Barton's sex life, including the scurrilous gossip that Barton and the late Senator Wilson had had several mulatto children together, and that Barton and Hubbell's adjoining rooms at Glen Echo were further proof of Barton's immorality. Boardman alleged misappropriation of funds, declared Barton's Civil War work largely fanciful, and

She could not accept the fact that the Red Cross had grown beyond her management ability. She believed she had been repudiated, expatriated by the country she had served for so long.

**On Barton's
ninetieth birthday,
newspapers
reported her fierce
independence,
quoting her recipe
for longevity:
"low fare, hard
work."**

branded her an "adventuress from the beginning and a clever one."

The bitter brew of half-truths, petty gossip, lies, rumors, and inventions about the Red Cross founder served only to sensationalize and distort the real problems. Barton refused to surrender and never publicly acknowledged the validity of any of Boardman's charges. Reinstating the suspended "remonstrants," she invited them to the 1903 annual meeting (they did not attend) where her presidency was reaffirmed. She also agreed, reluctantly, to allow an investigating committee headed by Senator Redfield Proctor to examine the records.

The major charges against Barton involved financial accounting; her field records were notoriously lax, and she consistently failed to differentiate between her private funds and those of the Red Cross. Through the years she had repeatedly used her own money in relief work, but she also had used organization funds for private purposes. Allegations regarding various properties Barton acquired for the Red Cross were also brought into the testimony. But when none of the "remonstrants" appeared in the Senate Caucus Room to produce hard, demonstrable evidence against Barton, Senator Proctor declared the

charges against her false and completely exonerated her.

Crushed and humiliated by the investigation, Barton realized that her exculpation would not end the dispute within the Red Cross. On May 14, 1904, at eighty-two, she resigned as Red Cross president, refusing to accept either an honorary position or an annuity.

She retired to Glen Echo brokenhearted and grieving. She could not accept the fact that the Red Cross had grown beyond her ability to manage it. She believed she had been repudiated, expatriated by the country she had served for so long. She toyed with exiling herself.

Boardman's obsessive campaign against her did not stop with Barton's resignation; it persisted long after Barton's death. The new Washington, D.C. Red Cross headquarters was dedicated in 1916, and although the then-secretary of state honored Barton during the ground breaking, the building contains no plaque or memorial recognizing the organization's founder. Barton has been relegated to the second floor, where, ironically, her portrait hangs not far from Boardman's.

Barton, a workaholic even in old age, took on new projects during her "retirement." In 1905 she founded the National First Aid Association of America (NFAA), established to teach first aid to private citizens, and to educate private manufacturing firms and auxiliary services such as fire and ambulance companies in emergency first aid. The association developed the original "first aid kit" that contained not only bandages, iodine, and splints, but ingredients for making a mustard plaster. Barton worked for the NFAA for five years in an unofficial capacity, lecturing and writing and allowing use of her name to promote the work.

In 1908 the American Red Cross decided that the NFAA belonged under its jurisdiction because Barton had first developed the program prior to resigning from the Red Cross. The following year, with War Department backing, first aid became an integral part of the Red Cross, and the NFAA disbanded.

Eventually Barton began to slow down, tiring quickly, refusing assistance—impatient, as always, of "coddling." On her ninetieth birth-

day, newspapers reported her fierce independence, quoting her recipe for longevity: "low fare, hard work."

Two bouts of pneumonia, one in 1911 and another the following year, hastened the end. Two days before her death, Barton told Hubbell of a dream of being back on a battlefield, wading through blood, seeing soldiers having their limbs sawed off without opiates, never complaining or murmuring, "and I woke to hear myself groan because I have a stupid pain in my back . . . I am ashamed that I murmur."

Her last words were from the poem "The Old Soldier" by the Rev. John Purves: "Let me go," she said, "let me go." She died on April 12, 1912.

While newspapers all over the world carried tributes, neither the White House nor the Red Cross gave any official recognition. There were funeral services at Glen Echo, and she was buried alongside her parents in Oxford, Massachusetts.

On April 15, 1912, the *Worcester [Massachusetts] Evening Post* carried two headlines on its front page: "Clara Barton at rest in town of her birth" and "All passengers taken off; *Titanic* still afloat." Even in death notices, there was a disaster at her side. ★

Cathleen Schurr is the author of several books and has contributed articles to national magazines and newspapers. Schurr's account of her ordeal as a survivor of the first U-boat attack of World War II appeared in the February 1988 issue of this publication. She lives in Maryland.

Recommended additional reading: Clara Barton: Professional Angel by Elizabeth Brown Pryor (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987) is the definitive in-print biography of the founder of the American Red Cross. This book is available as a quality paperback from the university press for \$19.95. In 1981 the National Park Service published an excellent handbook, Clara Barton, illustrated in color and featuring a profile of Barton by Pryor. A limited number of copies are still available for \$3.95 each plus postage through the bookshop at the Clara Barton National Historic Site. For ordering information for this title contact the historic site at 301-492-6245.

Clara Barton National Historic Site

Now administered by the National Park Service, Clara Barton's former home and Red Cross headquarters is located in Glen Echo, Maryland, just west of the Washington, D.C. line. Barton first used the building, completed in 1891, as a warehouse for Red Cross supplies. In 1897 she remodeled it into offices and a residence for herself and other staff members. She continued to occupy it after resigning as Red Cross president in 1904. During the 1960s the house was saved for preservation through the efforts of the Friends of Clara Barton and was presented by that group to the National Park Service.

When Barton lived in the house the large central hallway was adorned with gifts from appreciative foreign governments, and rooms were filled with framed resolutions of gratitude, photographs of her relief work, and portraits. Numerous "hidden" closets held Red Cross supplies. Flower and vegetable gardens, and the cows, chickens, and horses Barton kept lent the place a "country" atmosphere. "She loved her Glen Echo home," a friend recalled, "and used to say the moon seemed always to be shining there."



Dominated by a large central hall and balconies, Clara Barton's Glen Echo, Maryland building served the Red Cross director as a home, headquarters, and warehouse, as well as being a guesthouse and retreat for staff members returning from the field. The ark-like structure was modeled in part after a Red Cross building that had served victims of the 1889 Johnstown, Pennsylvania flood and is said to contain materials from that structure.



The house is usually open daily from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M. It is closed on major holidays. Group tours are available. The staff suggests that you call or write before visiting: Clara Barton National Historic Site, 5801 Oxford Road, Glen Echo, Maryland 20812; telephone 301-492-6245. ★

"STAMPING" OUT TUBERCULOSIS:

THE STORY OF CHRISTMAS SEALS®

By KATHLEEN DOYLE

Philadelphia's streets teemed with shoppers as Christmas 1907 approached—just nine days away. A thin, ragged newsboy darted among the crowds, peddling the morning's papers. When he had sold his last copy, the youth hurried off to the newspaper's offices. He had seen a front-page article stating that penny stamps were being sold there to help some sick people in Delaware.

Arriving in the newspaper building's lobby, the boy placed his coin on the counter and said "Gimme one—me sister's got it."

The disease he spoke of was tuberculosis, or the "White Plague," as it was menacingly called. In 1907 tuberculosis was the leading, most-feared killer-disease in America. Interestingly, efforts that year to fight the disease would lead to the creation of an American holiday tradition: the custom of affixing colorful Christmas Seals®—like the ones the newsboy purchased—to cards, letters, and packages.

By 1907 a number of "anti-

tuberculosis" organizations had formed throughout the nation to combat public apathy toward preventing and curing the disease. One such group was the Delaware Anti-tuberculosis Society, which, having been refused state funds, used private donations to establish a small open-air sanatorium on the Brandywine River near Wilmington. There, a cook and a tubercular nurse cared for eight patients while several doctors observed the effect this "fresh air" treatment had on the victims.

Results were promising, but by the end of 1907 the Delaware group's funds were depleted. Another \$300 was needed to continue operating the sanatorium through the winter.

One of the physicians, Dr. Joseph P. Wales, recalled that his cousin Emily Bissell, secretary of the Delaware Red Cross chapter, had been involved in charity work for many years. Wales explained the situation to Bissell and asked for help in raising the needed money. She agreed without hesitation.

Soon afterward Bissell remembered an article by social reformer Jacob Riis that had appeared in the July 1907 issue of *The Outlook*. The Danish-American had seen tuberculosis kill six of his brothers. With this personal knowledge in mind, Riis proposed that tuberculosis workers in the United States adopt a Yuletide sales campaign similar to those in other countries.

Riis had received a letter from his native Denmark adorned with a special stamp sold there during the Christmas season to generate revenue for building hospitals for tubercular children. About four million of the stamps had been sold in Denmark in 1904, with sales continuing in subsequent years.

Riis saw in Denmark's Christmas stamp a means "of setting everybody to thinking of a great wrong" that needed to be "righted." "Tuberculosis is just such a wrong," Riis wrote. "Nothing in all the world is better proven today than that it is a preventable disease. . . . And yet in our own country it goes





on year after year, killing an army of one hundred and fifty thousand persons. . . . What I want to know is why we cannot here borrow a leaf from Santa Claus's Danish year-book, and do as they have done?"

Taking her cue from Riis, Bissell sketched a design for an American Christmas Seal: a red cross centered in a half-wreath of holly above the words "Merry Christmas." After obtaining permission from the National Red Cross to use the organization's familiar emblem in her seal design, Bissell persuaded the Delaware chapter to sponsor a seal campaign. Bissell also sought the United States Post Office Department's permission to sell the seals at post office counters. The postmaster general rejected that idea, but agreed to allow the seals to be sold at booths set up in post office lobbies.

Using her own funds as well as contributions from a few friends, Bissell had the seal design executed. A generous local printer agreed to produce the seals on credit. About fifty thousand seals were initially

printed with red ink on white paper, and volunteers inserted them into envelopes bearing the following words in bright red:

25 Christmas Stamps one penny
apiece issued by the
Delaware Red Cross to stamp out
the White Plague

Put this stamp, with message
bright

On Every Christmas letter;
Help the tuberculosis fight,
And make the New Year better.
These stamps do not carry any
kind of mail
but any kind of mail will carry
them.

Bissell promoted the Christmas Seals by speaking before women's clubs, schools, church groups, and merchants. Then, on December 7, 1907, sales began at a table in the corridor of the Wilmington post office.

Volunteers sold \$25 worth of seals that first day—a modest success, but not enough for Bissell. She believed the seals and their anti-

tuberculosis cause could use more publicity. So she traveled to Philadelphia to meet with the Sunday editor of the *North American*, then a leading newspaper in the city. The publication's editors had taken a supportive stance toward the anti-tuberculosis movement, and Bissell hoped they would publish some articles about the Christmas Seals campaign. But the Red Cross worker was disappointed; the Sunday editor felt the subject didn't warrant space.

Leaving that office, Bissell decided to visit another newspaper staff member, Leigh Mitchell Hodges, whose column, "The Optimist," she enjoyed. In the course of their conversation, Bissell explained the main purpose of her trip to the *North American*. Immediately inspired by her idea, Hodges approached the newspaper's editor-in-chief and publisher, E.A. Van Valkenburg, about the project.

Hodges later recounted his words to Van Valkenburg: "Here's a way to wipe out tuberculosis. . . . Look

"The secret of the Christmas Seal," Bissell once said, "is that it had and has a job to do. It was an instrument needed to carry on the campaign against tuberculosis. And it went straight to the people with the message."



Emily Bissell's 1907 fund-raising efforts to fight tuberculosis led to the creation of annual nationwide Christmas Seal campaigns.

at them—a penny apiece—within everyone's reach—think how they'll carry the news of what people can do for themselves—what a slogan, "Stamp out Tuberculosis!"

"Tell Miss Bissell the *North American* is hers for the holidays," Van Valkenburg responded after examining a sheet of Christmas Seals. "Drop what you're doing, and give this your whole time. Take all the space you need. Ask her to send us fifty thousand by tomorrow."

Bissell hurried off to order more seals while the newspapermen began publicizing them. Page-one stories, double-column editorials, endorsements from religious and political leaders, and other features informed Philadelphia residents about the seals even before the stamps arrived from Wilmington. Two days after the Christmas Seals were delivered, thirty thousand were sold. Demand

was so great that a Philadelphia printer was hired to produce more seals—this time with "Happy New Year" added to the design as the end of the holiday season approached. By that first campaign's end, \$3,000—ten times the original goal—had been raised for the tuberculosis cause.

In 1908 the American Red Cross, largely through the influence of its secretary Mabel T. Boardman, took over the sale of the seals on a national basis. In support of the program, Bissell, recently elected president of the Delaware Anti-tuberculosis Society, sent articles about the seals' origin and purpose to newspapers around the country. Once again the *North American* led the publicity campaign.

Americans responded generously: two days after the countrywide sale began, the Red Cross's national headquarters in Washington, D.C., had to hire extra clerks to handle all the orders. The 1908 sale eventually raised \$135,000 for the tuberculosis cause.

In 1909 the Red Cross issued a Christmas Seal sold jointly with the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis (NASPT), this time raising \$250,000 for programs combatting the disease. The following year the two organizations formed a partnership: the Red Cross continued to sponsor the seals while the NASPT planned and conducted the annual campaigns and distributed the funds to appropriate projects.

The partnership lasted for ten years, with a Christmas Seal campaign annually except for the war year 1918 when the Red Cross compensated the tuberculosis cause with a \$2.5 million donation. (Sales had first reached \$1 million in 1916.) About 1920, when the NASPT (by then the National Tuberculosis Association [NTA]) took over Christmas Seal sales, the Red Cross symbol was removed from seal designs and replaced with the double-barred Cross of Lorraine—now a registered trademark. Since 1920 the cross has appeared on all Christmas Seals.

Christmas Seals steadily grew in popularity throughout the next decade, with sales reaching \$5.5 million in 1929. And although the Great Depression dampened Christmas Seal sales, it did not extinguish

them; earnings never fell below \$3 million.

Funds from the Christmas Seal campaigns—allocated for research, detection, treatment, and prevention of tuberculosis—had a dramatic effect in controlling the disease. In 1907, the year the campaigns began, tuberculosis caused 156,000 deaths as America's leading killer-disease. By 1940, when the country's population was 50 percent larger, tubercular deaths had fallen to 60,000. That year tuberculosis dropped in rank to seventh among death-dealing diseases.

"If one were to recite the various influences and factors that have contributed most to the success of the campaign against tuberculosis in the United States," Dr. S. A. Knopf, an NTA founder, wrote in later years, "he could not help but place at the head of any such list the tuberculosis Christmas Seal."

As the tuberculosis threat lessened, NTA directors expanded the organization's mission to include other respiratory diseases. Consequently, the group changed its name to the National Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association, which then became the American Lung Association® in 1973.

Christmas Seal sales strategies also evolved with the years. The holiday stamps are no longer sold in post office lobbies; instead, each holiday season sheets of Christmas Seals arrive at millions of American homes, making the Christmas Seal campaign the largest nonprofit direct mail campaign in the United States. Last year (1988-89) sales amounted to \$39 million.

But dollars alone cannot measure the tremendous value Christmas Seals have had in improving American health. "The secret of the Christmas Seal," Bissell once said, "is that it had and has a job to do. It was an instrument needed to carry on the campaign against tuberculosis. And it went straight to the people with its message."

The seals, she said, give everyone—even the lowliest newsboy—"a chance to be of real help in the defense and spread of health and happiness" during the Christmas season. ★

Kathleen Doyle is articles editor for *American History Illustrated*.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Continued from page 27

the Culper spy network was terrified after Arnold defected and became a British general in New York City. Arnold apparently named several American spies, and the British subsequently seized them, including agent 355, Townsend's common-law wife. Condemned and imprisoned, she died a few months later aboard a British prison ship. Disheartened, Townsend left New York. But after a few months he returned and resumed gathering intelligence.

Townsend and Woodhull were truly master spies; their intrepid network operated from 1778 until the war's end, sending invaluable intelligence about the British to Washington. Secrecy became such a habit with Townsend and Woodhull that they carried their secrets to their graves. Diligent research by historians 150 years later eventually revealed the identities of these two agents.

Other New York Agents

Washington had other spies in New York City, some of whom he managed himself. Carefully following his own orders, he kept their identities secret even from Tallmadge and other American intelligence officers. Although some of Washington's spies traveled in and out of the city, he preferred those who had a long-standing cover there. Hercules Mulligan was a popular New York City tailor patronized by many British soldiers and Tories. For years Mulligan passed intelligence information to the Americans, enduring the hatred of his neighbors who thought he was a die-hard Tory. Later they were surprised to see Washington visit the tailor's house for breakfast on the morning after the American general entered New York to observe the British depart from the city on the First Evacuation Day, November 25, 1783.

As the war continued, Washington's spy system became truly sophisticated. He used several double agents to confuse the British. An agent named Captain Elijah Hunter was well-accepted in New York by General Henry Clinton, the British commander. The British thought Hunter was a Tory and asked him to spy on the Americans. Although

suspicious of Hunter at first, despite John Jay's recommendation, Washington eventually accepted Hunter and used him to send false as well as accurate information to Clinton.

Davis Gray, a Continental Army captain, became another of Washington's double agents. He even talked the British into placing him in *their* secret service! Gray's work for the British involved carrying letters in and out of New York. While so doing, he took intelligence to Washington and brought back a mixture of accurate and false intelligence to the British. Occasionally he betrayed a few Tories. In September 1781, when he learned that traitor Benedict Arnold's new British legion was planning to attack New London, Connecticut, Gray commanded some American militia and fought bravely at Fort Mifflin. He then resumed his spy activities. To protect Gray, Washington for several years had the double agent specially listed as a deserter, but in May 1782 Gray was allowed to rejoin the Continental Army.

With Washington's approval, American Captain Caleb Bruen joined Clinton's British spy staff. The British general's secret records, now at the University of Michigan, reveal that the British asked Bruen to spy on the Americans and to act as a courier of information from other British spies in New Jersey and Rhode Island.

Alexander Bryan and Burgoyne's Defeat

Perhaps the most important single spy coup of the entire war was that of a courageous, inexperienced amateur, Alexander Bryan. In the fall of 1777 the American cause had its darkest hour. Washington's army had been beaten in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and Burgoyne's army was marching down from Canada. The British plan was to squeeze Washington's American Major General Horatio Gates's armies in a pincer movement between Burgoyne's and Howe's forces located at Philadelphia and New York.

Gates was lucky. He persuaded Bryan to enter the British lines near Saratoga, New York and investigate. Bryan bought some fabric from the British, then wandered around, posing as a man seeking a tailor. He



Information obtained by the Culper spy team uncovered the true allegiance of General Benedict Arnold and nearly resulted in his capture, when a member of the ring provided leads connecting British officer and spy John André with the American traitor.

brought back facts about British army strength and the news that Burgoyne planned to attack Bemis Heights; Gates prepared accordingly—and won a glorious victory.

At a time when American morale was at a low ebb, this astounding victory roused the country to further resistance and brought the French into the war on the American side. The success was a major turning point in the war—and Bryan, a rank amateur, had a large role in it.

Deception as a Weapon

Although Washington's integrity was absolute, he knew how to deceive when necessary. In the terrible winter of January to May 1778 that the Continental Army spent at Morristown, the force's numbers dwindled at one time to fewer than four thousand men. Enlistments expired and soldiers returned home. Food was scarce, and housing was scattered and wretched. Even ammunition was a problem. Washington was anxious lest the veteran British troops thirty miles away at Perth



Quaker housewife Lydia Darragh, who lived across from British headquarters in Philadelphia, provided important intelligence to Washington's army. Darragh generally used her teen-aged son as a courier, but on one occasion she personally crossed British lines to warn the Americans of a planned attack at Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania.

Amboy, New Jersey would sally forth to destroy his tiny army.

Washington had his generals prepare false reports of the number of men under their command. He then had the reports sent to Congress via a route where the British were sure to capture the courier. Additional confirming "evidence" was leaked to the British from an "informed" source in Philadelphia. With this information in hand, the British commander refused to believe the account of a British officer, a former prisoner of war, who described the

weakness of Washington's army after having just escaped from the American camp. The unusually cold winter caused the British to seize any excuse to stay in their warm quarters, leaving Washington's army unmolested.

In October 1777, after losing the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, Washington's army was in perilous condition. Although Burgoyne had surrendered to Gates at Saratoga, Washington needed time to rebuild his forces. He arranged to have spurious orders to Gates and two other generals intercepted by the enemy in order to deceive Clinton, the British commander in chief, into thinking that Gates was headed down the Hudson River to attack. Washington simultaneously used the clever Major Clark and his Philadelphia spy network to leak different false information about American strength to British General Howe.

This elaborate hoax tricked Howe into believing that papers "stolen" from American army files would be delivered to him secretly by a "trustworthy" Quaker who spied because he opposed all wars. Washington must have chuckled as he wrote

some of the false documents, including one specifying his military intentions. The result: both Clinton and Howe kept their troops at home.

In July 1780 the Culper spy network in New York informed Washington of nine British ships preparing to board eight thousand troops and artillery and sail up Long Island Sound toward Newport, Rhode Island, where an outnumbered French fleet was disembarking troops. Because Washington realized that his army was too weak to attack Manhattan, he resorted to subterfuge: a well-respected Tory farmer delivered to the British a packet of letters he had "found" on the road. The letters detailed Washington's "authentic" plans for twelve thousand Continental troops to attack Manhattan. Clinton, the commander, was deluded; using special signal fires along Long Island Sound, he sent orders to his ships to return to defend New York. The French landed in Newport unhindered.

Using his spy system and other methods, Washington supplied false information to the British on still other occasions. Thus did espionage play a major role in assuring an American victory—and a new nation. The legend of young George Washington not lying about chopping down the cherry tree has survived through the years, but where military matters were concerned, Washington had a talent for deceit. ★

Free-lance writer Dr. Walter R. Haefele is a retired California research chemist.

Recommended additional reading: General Washington's Spies on Long Island and in New York by Morton Penny-packer (Brooklyn: Long Island Historical Society, 1939), Turncoats, Traitors, and Heroes by John Bakeless (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1959), and Secret History of the American Revolution by Carl Van Doren (New York: Viking Press, 1941) are three classic studies of espionage during the Revolution. The Encyclopedia of American Intelligence and Espionage From the Revolutionary War to the Present by G.J.A. O'Toole (New York: Facts On File, 1988) is a fascinating, recently published compendium of information on spies and spying.

HISTORY BOOKSHELF

Idle Hours: Americans at Leisure 1865-1914

Between the end of the Civil War and the outbreak of World War I, a growing upper class—sometimes called the “picnic generation”—found increasing time for such leisure activities as boating, golfing, reading, and visiting. A new school of artists portrayed members of this budding American group in works that challenged such members of the old guard as the Hudson River School painters. Author Ronald G. Pisano presents works by such artists as Winslow Homer, John Singer Sargent, Mary Cassatt, Thomas Eakins, and James McNeill Whistler to illustrate his examination of an idyllic time in American history. Perusing this lovely volume makes enjoyable reading for one's own leisure time.

By Ronald G. Pisano (Little, Brown, and Company, Boston, 1988; 163 pages, illustrated, \$65.00).

The Image of the Black in Western Art: From the American Revolution to World War I

This scholarly but accessible two-volume set presents images of blacks by white artists. Author Hugh Honour reviews eighteenth- to early twentieth-century artworks within their historical context and discusses the influence of social pressure, religious beliefs, philosophy, anthropology, aesthetic preferences, and imperialism on the artists and their attitudes. The first volume is devoted to images of slavery and abolition, while the second portrays the ways artists saw and imagined blacks in other settings and circumstances. The accompanying text points out that, just as the African slaves were aliens in western culture, so they often appear in artistic images—misunderstood strangers in a foreign land, stereotypically depicted by artists who dealt with

them the only way they knew how. More than coffee-table art books, these are works remarkable in scope, detail, and visual power.

By Hugh Honour (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1989; two volumes, 397 pages and 306 pages, illustrated, \$50.00 each).

The Professions in American History

This collection of eleven essays, based on a series of lectures sponsored by the University of Notre Dame's history department, presents accounts of the historical forces that have shaped such professions as law, medicine, journalism, engineering, and the military. The roles these career fields have played in American society are also examined as each writer details the evolution of the professions within American culture. The non-technical nature of the essays makes them interesting for the general reader, but especially so for those studying for or considering these professions.

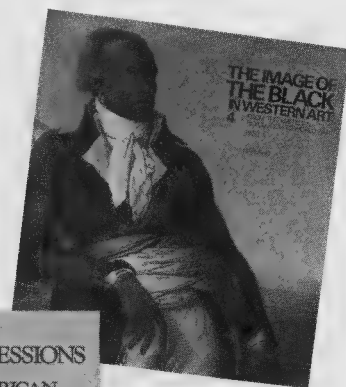
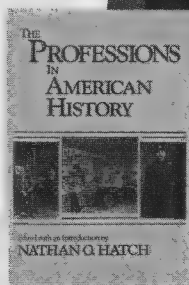
Edited by Nathan O. Hatch (University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1988; 248 pages, \$21.95).

All American Girl: The Ideal of Real Womanhood in Mid-Nineteenth Century America

The prevailing image of the mid-nineteenth-century American woman classifies her either as a pas-

sive, flirtatious, fainting victim, or a steely, feminist revolutionary. But in this book author Frances B. Cogan identifies a previously overlooked third ideal of femininity that she terms the “Real Woman.” Cogan's point “is simply to suggest that it is very likely, based on didactic literature and popular novels—primary sources both—that more than one popular ideal for middle class American women existed and was embraced between 1840 and 1880.” Providing evidence from popular middle-class reading material of the period, Cogan demonstrates the ideal of Real Womanhood's emphasis on intelligence, physical fitness and health, self-sufficiency, economic self-reliance, wise marriage, and a balance between self-interest and family obligations. She cites as an example of this ideal the heroine of the 1866 bestseller *St. Elmo*, who mastered several classical languages, higher mathematics, and comparative religion and theology. Cogan's study reveals a system of mid-nineteenth-century feminine values that promoted fit, competent, and caring womanhood.

By Frances B. Cogan (University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1989; 298 pages, \$35.00 cloth, \$14.95 paper). ★



AMERICAN LANDMARKS

Continued from page 12

creating a baseball museum there. Frick ingeniously suggested that the site include a hall of fame. And in 1939, one hundred years after Doubleday reportedly laid out the first field, the Hall of Fame opened its doors—Ty Cobb's conspicuous absence notwithstanding.

Today, visitors flock here in greater numbers than ever to discover a post card village virtually unchanged since the dawn of the century. Cooperstown boasts quaint old inns; a grand eighty-year-old resort called the Otesaga; museums focusing on author James Fenimore Cooper, who lived and worked here; local opera and theater festivals; and a two-block-long Main Street without malls—all of it hugging Otsego Lake, still so pure the town taps it for drinking water.

But above all, visitors come for the recently expanded Hall of Fame, a remarkable combination of cluttered antiquity and high-tech virtuosity. For generations it has been baseball's storage attic, the repository for practically every bat, ball, and glove that's ever been used to set a record, no matter how obscure (most recently the Louisville Slugger that Ernest Riles used to hit the tenthousandth home run in the history of the Giants franchise). Yes, Cobb's lethal, hand-sharpened sliding spikes are here, too.

Special memories include the locker of past superstar Babe Ruth,

complete with his shaving mug; trophies amassed by pitching legend Cy Young; the uniform Jackie Robinson wore when he broke the color barrier; even the shoes "Shoeless" Joe Jackson wore when he played for the scandal-scarred 1919 "Black Sox." There are nearly six thousand artifacts here, and all of them seem to resonate with the cheers of a thousand spring and summer days of baseball dreams.

Old newsreel footage brings the boys of summer back into vivid focus, but this is a museum that honors wood and cowhide as reverently as it celebrates people. Visitors can trace the growth of baseball gloves, for example—from the tiny, padless models of the nineteenth century to the overstuffed hit-snatchers of the eighties—and the corresponding shrinkage in bats, from Ruth's massive lumber to the thinner, lighter model Hank Aaron used to shatter Ruth's record. Even the uniforms on display have undergone a metamorphosis, from the hot woollens of an earlier era to today's skin-tight doubleknits.

Great stadiums may have vanished from Brooklyn, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and elsewhere, taking some of the soul out of the game with them, but remnants like the old Ebbets Field cornerstone are on display here, too—baseball equivalents of the Parthenon ruins. Visitors can even sit in one of the old fold-down chairs from Crosley Field, a reminder of the days when seats were narrower, scoreboards were oper-

ated by hand, pillars obstructed the view, and the center field wall seemed a country mile from home plate.

As for those who prefer their memories in stereo or disc, IBM computers can answer innumerable baseball trivia questions. There is also a spectacular new two-hundred-seat theater built to resemble a stadium, featuring a dazzling show of highlight hits and catches in brilliant multimedia graphics.

Sports Illustrated has observed that the Hall offers everything from the essential to the eccentric, and there are those who will get the most pleasure from such ephemeral displays as the wall of ancient baseball cards, those curious connective links between boys and the game for seventy years; the gold crown Babe Ruth wore when he was dubbed "Sultan of Swat" in a charming but absurd public relations stunt; or perhaps the pile of red dirt salvaged from the high school field where slugger Johnny Mize learned his trade.

Younger visitors, on the other hand, might get more nostalgic over Lou Brock's running shoes or Mickey Mantle's majestic Number 7 uniform shirt, looking as if it's still rippling with muscles. For pure charm, however, nothing equals the unintentional pathos of the little sign displaying Babe Ruth's lifetime statistics—with the home run numbers all but erased by years of visitors running their fingers lovingly, reverently over those unbelievable statistics.

Most visitors will come away with a cherished memory; for many it will inevitably be the museum's centerpiece: the cathedral-like Hall of Fame gallery with its 204 plaques. Yes, the crowd really falls into a hush here: fathers, in tones barely audible, recall for their children memories of these stars. And never mind that scarcely a bronze Hall of Famer portrait resembles the original player.

Cooperstown and the Hall of Fame may be well off the proverbial beaten track. But just as it was for Cobb—who arrived late back in 1939, as ornery as ever—it's well worth the trip. ★

Free-lance writer Harold Holzer is a frequent contributor to this publication.

Visiting Cooperstown

Cooperstown is located seventy miles west of Albany and thirty miles south of the New York State Thruway near the intersection of routes 28 and 80.

The National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum is open daily except Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year's Day. Hours are 9 A.M. to 9 P.M. May 1 through October 31, and 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. November 1 through April 30. Admission is \$5 for adults and \$2 for juniors ages 7-15. Group rates are

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